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YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Without Soviet military support in Viet Nam . . .

. . . many American soldiers would still be alive.

# The Soviet Union Is Still Our Main Enemy

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By ALICE WIDENER

A worldwide propaganda campaign is being waged to persuade Americans that our main enemy is Red China, not the Soviet Union. The propagandists portray the Soviet Union as "moderate" and Red China as "extremist." Also, they wrongly assert that the Red Chinese are the originators of the "liberation wars" Communist strategy. The propagandists claim that Red China is the principal supporter of the Ho Chi Minh regime in Hanoi; they say the Soviet Union is only a reluctant supporter of North Vietnamese aggression.

**Nothing could be further from the truth than these pro-Soviet allegations. The Soviets are the prime instigators and backers of the Hanoi regime's aggression and they have been ever since November 1960 when the Soviets set up a munitions depot in northern Laos to give logistic support to Red "liberation wars" in Southeast Asia.**

At that time, our Joint Chiefs, headed by Gen. Lemnitzer, were of the opinion that our Seventh Fleet should fly some planes over the Soviet munitions dump in a "show of force" signifying "Quit it!" The Joint Chiefs were overruled by persons in our State Department on the advice, it is said, of Averell Harriman.

It would be a grave error for us to permit ourselves to be deceived now about the real Soviet role in Viet Nam. Adm. Raborn, chief of our Central Intelligence Agency, and U.S. Sen. Thomas J. Dodd, an expert on communism, are both doing their level best to avoid our misunderstanding of what is the real score in Viet Nam. Adm. Raborn is prevented from communicating directly with the public, owing to the nature of his official position. Sen. Dodd is fortunately free to express his views and has done so admirably in the February 9 issue of *Washington Report*, issued by the American Security Council.

"The time has come to face up to realities in Viet Nam," writes Sen. Dodd. "It is *not* true that most of the equipment reaching Hanoi moves by rail through Red China." The senator says that Red China's assistance to Hanoi "is on a more limited scale than that of the Soviet Union."

Most of the military and industrial supplies necessary to Hanoi for conducting the war in Viet Nam are sent by sea and unloaded at the port of Haiphong. "Polish, Cuban and Soviet cargo ships enter and leave Haiphong daily," reports Sen. Dodd. "During the past few months, eight Polish ships, totaling 70,000 tons, discharged in Haiphong cargoes brought either from Polish ports or from North Korea or Red China. Further, a Soviet statement on Oct. 13, 1965, spoke boastfully of the large number of ships carrying industrial equipment, machine tools and other commodities to Haiphong." Moscow Radio recently bragged, "A constant caravan of merchant ships plies the line from Odessa, the Soviet Union's biggest Black Sea port, to Haiphong, the port of Hanoi."

The SAM missiles in North Viet Nam are Soviet missiles, not Red Chinese. The MIG planes flown against us are Soviet planes, even if furnished to the Viet Cong by the Red Chinese. "It makes no sense to risk American lives to bomb the trucks or trains in North Viet Nam," writes Sen. Dodd, "while permitting the Communists to ship and unload hundreds of thousands of tons of supplies monthly via the port of Haiphong.

"Our sea power is unchallengeable. It is within our power to interdict the flow of traffic to Haiphong. . . . We should do so and we should put both the free world nations and the Communist nations engaged in the traffic to Haiphong on firm notice that this traffic will not be tolerated."

There are some persons who say that if we blow up Haiphong, then the Soviets will blow up New York City. This is nuclear fearmongering. It is most unlikely that the Kremlin puts as high a value on Haiphong as on Moscow!

**What the Soviet Union does set a high value on is the realistic answer to the question "Who is winning militarily in Viet Nam?" No appeals to Communist conscience or Communist respect for "world opinion" are availing in our search for peace. Nor is Pope Paul's appeal of any influence on Soviet policy. The Soviet attitude today is precisely what it was in World War II when Stalin asked contemptuously, "How many divisions has the Pope got?"**

The truth of all this was made clear on Sunday, February 7, when Hungarian Ambassador to the United Nations Karoly Csatorday, a Soviet satellite spokesman, said that any peace negotiations in Geneva or anywhere else would have to be based on "realistic appraisal of the Viet Nam military situation." The Soviet satellite ambassador's whole approach to the Viet Nam situation was purely military, as the U.N. ambassadors of New Zealand and of the Philippines were quick to point out.

There is, of course, a menacing Red Chinese threat in Southeast Asia. But the main launching site of that Chinese threat is in the Kremlin enclave. If the Communist regime in the Kremlin were to fall, the Red Chinese regime would soon come tumbling after. We Americans should focus our main attention on our principal enemy—the Soviet Union.

In the Korean War we permitted Gen. Douglas MacArthur's advice to go unheeded. Now, alas, we realize too late that he was right. In the Viet Nam war we should not let the opinions of Adm. Raborn and Sen. Dodd go unheeded.

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*A First-Hand Report*

## Why Californians Look To Ronald Reagan

***Special Feature: An Exclusive Interview***

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# Despite Tito's Attacks on U.S. He Still Receives American Wheat

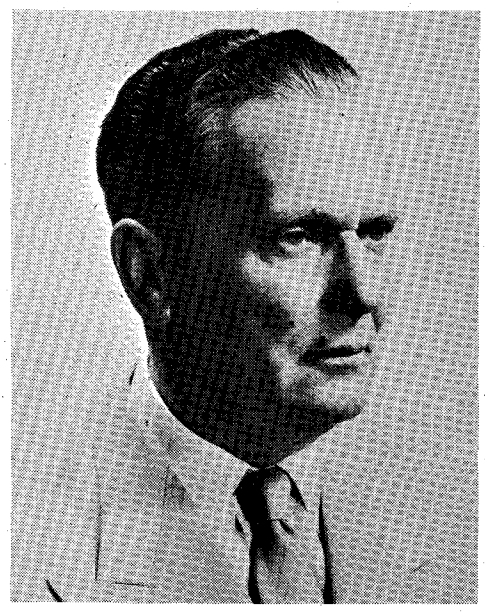
By VICTOR RIESEL

Apparently there is a group of policy makers inside the American government whose specialty is feeding the hand that bites us.

They have decided, in a fulsome burst of Food for Peace magnanimity, to bolster Yugoslavia with $78.5 million worth of wheat. In a true fraternal gesture the United States even is laying out some $8 million for shipping costs.

**In an official statement the Yugoslav Communist regime of Marshal Tito said it was grateful. And it showed its gratitude. It authorized a powerful arm of its government to lash at President Johnson's policy of bombing North Viet Nam; and with worldwide charges that the United States was committing mass murder with poison gases; and by calling a session of the Yugoslav-Cuban Commission for Economic Cooperation in Belgrade.**

The huge food shipments, for which Marshal Tito's treasury need pay nothing during 1966 and 1967, must all be delivered this year. Then the American credit arrangement gives the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia up to 1980 to complete the easy installments.



Yugoslavia's Tito has charged the United States with mass murder in Viet Nam.

All this was agreed to by the directors of the U.S. AID administration and the Department of Agriculture.

Half the wheat shipments to Yugoslavia go over in American ships—because George Meany, AFL-CIO president, and leaders of the waterfront unions have fought for at least this share of the traffic. But the other half voyages in the holds of vessels owned by men and nations who do business with North Viet Nam, Cuba or other Communist lands.

Critics of the Belgrade government do not object to the feeding of the hungry people of Yugoslavia. What is now resented is the attack being mounted by their government and its controlled fronts upon the United States during the very time that the succoring wheat is beginning to flow into the empty Belgrade granaries.

Not the least vituperative of the assaults on the United States has come from the Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia. Its official organ has just arrived here. This is the English version of the publication which is issued in four languages and distributed to opinion-making newsmen, intellectuals, labor leaders and government officials across the world.

Apparently as part of this unique barter for U.S. wheat, the publication calls America "inhumane."

"The Yugoslav trade unions energetically condemn the use of military gases and other means for mass destruction," says the publication after denouncing the United States as militaristic, imperialistic and aggressive.

The Yugoslav labor magazine refers to Ho Chi Minh's government as the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. The edition says bluntly, "towards the end of March, American units used poison gas against the Viet Cong liberation forces in South Viet Nam . . . the use of gases inflicts suffering on the innocent population in South Viet Nam."

**There are further vitriolic attacks by the Yugoslavian editors upon "responsible American circles." Thus there is a direct attack on the same government which is helping to feed the Yugoslavs despite the sharp difference in ideologies between Washington and Belgrade. There appears to be little "inhumane" about this dispatch of life-giving food.**

Furthermore, American labor specialists who monitor Yugoslav labor activities point out that the Yugoslav labor confederation has leaders who are in Marshal Tito's government itself. The confederation is an integral part of the Yugoslav Communist party's central committee.

Thus some of its officials, as this columnist can report from personal discussions in Belgrade, also double as government leaders. So they are privy to their own intelligence sources. This means they, of course, know the United States is not using poison gas, nor is it guilty of the other crimes with which the Confederation of Trade Unions' officials charge America's forces.

Obviously the world's political aviary now has its share of vultures as well as hawks and doves and owls.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☐ ☐ ☐

**ATTERBURY AGAIN**—The Job Corps Center at Camp Atterbury, Ind., remains a breeding ground for crime and violence. The Indianapolis *News* reports two corpsmen recently returned to the camp after an all-night drinking spree and beat two Job Corps officials so badly they required medical treatment. The two youths appeared before the U.S. commissioner in Indianapolis and were fined $75 each and given suspended jail terms. A day later, two other corpsmen were taken into custody when powdered marijuana was discovered in their possession.

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Sen. John Tower (R.-Tex.), left, will probably face Atty. Gen. Waggoner Carr in his battle for re-election this fall.

# Tower Re-Election Chances Now Considerably Brighter

By FULTON LEWIS JR.

Diminutive John Tower, the only Republican in modern history to represent Texas in the U.S. Senate, is now given at least an even chance for re-election.

Tower took advantage of a badly split Democratic party to score a narrow, 10,000-vote upset in 1961. But in recent years Texas Republicans have suffered staggering setbacks in their efforts to create a two-party system.

Lyndon Johnson carried the Lone Star State by an overwhelming margin in 1964. Gov. John Connally and Sen. Ralph Yarborough, both Democrats, were re-elected and the state's two GOP congressmen were defeated. The Republican delegation in the state legislature was reduced to one.

Political experts studied the 1964 results and promptly wrote Tower off as a lame duck senator. But Tower ignored the dire warnings and launched an energetic campaign for re-election. He has returned to the state several times a month, meeting voters and spelling out his conservative philosophy.

**As a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, he has studied the Vietnamese war at first hand and has given all-out support to the President's resumption of bombing raids. He has received publicity throughout the state as a leader of the bipartisan band that is fighting to save section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act.**

Tower's 1961 election was obtained with the back door support of liberal Democrats who bitterly opposed their party's nominee, conservative William Blakley. Luckily for Tower, the same forces that sent him to the Senate are again at work.

Texas liberals have long opposed the all-but-certain Democratic nominee, State Atty. Gen. Waggoner Carr, a conservative. They have talked of running an independent candidate to drain off votes from Carr, or staying home, of outright support of Tower, a conservative who at least wears the Republican label.

Private polls show Tower and Carr running neck and neck. But Tower appears to have the momentum and the Democratic split is likely to get worse before it gets better.

Note: The Texas legislature, overwhelmingly Democratic, has redrawn the state's congressional districts to make it unlikely that the GOP can win back the two House seats it lost in 1964. But the Republicans do have a good chance of victory in a newly created Houston district. Hence they will nominate George Bush, the articulate young oil man who ran a strong but losing race for the Senate two years ago.

★ ★ ★

Communist party General Secretary Gus Hall has announced the date and site of the party's 18th national convention—June 23-26 in New York City.

Convention plans were mapped at a closed door meeting of the party's national committee, January 15-17. The convention was scheduled for late June to enable college students to attend in large numbers.

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## 14b Gag Loses

***Following is the 51-to-48 rollcall vote by which the Senate on February 8 turned back the Administration's attempt to cut off debate on the bill to repeal Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act. A two-thirds majority of the Senate, or 67 votes, was needed to invoke cloture. A second attempt on February 10 to halt debate also failed. Most observers feel that right-to-work repeal is probably dead for the remainder of this session.***

TO INVOKE CLOTURE: 51

**DEMOCRATS FOR (45):** Anderson, Bartlett, Bass, Bayh, Brewster, Burdick, Church, Clark, Dodd, Douglas, Gore, Gruening, Harris, Hart, Hartke, Inouye, Jackson, Kennedy (Mass.), Kennedy (N. Y.), Long (Mo.), Long (La.), Magnuson, Mansfield, McCarthy, McGee, McGovern, McIntyre, Metcalf, Mondale, Montoya, Morse, Moss, Muskie, Nelson, Neuberger, Pastore, Pell, Proxmire, Randolph, Ribicoff, Symington, Tydings, Williams (N. J.), Yarborough and Young (Ohio).

**REPUBLICANS FOR (6):** Case, Cooper, Javits, Kuchel, Scott and Smith.

AGAINST CLOTURE: 48

**DEMOCRATS AGAINST (22):** Bible, Byrd (Va.), Byrd (W. Va.), Cannon, Eastland, Ellender, Ervin, Fulbright, Hayden, Hill, Holland, Jordan (N. C.), Lausche, McClellan, Monroney, Robertson, Russell (S. C.), Russell (Ga.), Smathers, Sparkman, Stennis and Talmadge.

**REPUBLICANS AGAINST (26):** Aiken, Allott, Bennett, Boggs, Carlson, Cotton, Curtis, Dirksen, Dominick, Fannin, Fong, Hickenlooper, Hruska, Jordan (Idaho), Miller, Morton, Mundt, Murphy, Pearson, Prouty, Saltonstall, Simpson, Thurmond, Tower, Williams (Del.) and Young (N. D.).

Sen. Pat McNamara (D.-Mich.), who voted for cloture last year, did not vote due to illness. The only change in position was that of Sen. George McGovern (D.-S.D.), who voted against cloture last year but voted in favor last week.


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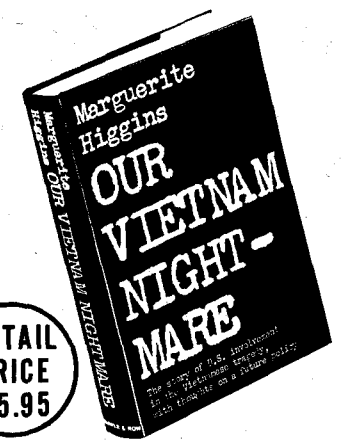


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# CAPITOL CAMERA

• Newsman Clark Mollenhoff's *Despoilers of Democracy*, an expose of scandal in the Kennedy-Johnson years, has become one of the hottest sellers in the country. It is favorite reading material of both Republican and Democratic congressmen, most of whom have been shocked at Mollenhoff's revelations, particularly about Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara. Already in its third printing, it is selling close to 400 hardcover copies a week in Washington. It has had over 70 favorable reviews (see *Human Events*, Dec. 4, 1965), but two influential opinion organs have conspicuously failed to mention it: the New York *Times* and *Book Week*, which is controlled by the New York *Herald-Tribune* and the Washington *Post*.

MOLLENHOFF

• *In spite of what the liberals say, the Klan probe by the House Committee on Un-American Activities is getting good results. Seven KKKers have been cited by Congress for contempt. Robert M. Creel, an ex-Grand Dragon, has testified that the KKK's exposure "hurts" the organization. Particularly damaging, he insists, are Klansmen who hide behind the "Fifth" when questioned about murder. An ex-Klansman from Ohio, Robert Pryor, did his one-time hooded friends no good last week when he revealed that he quit the Klan in disgust because it was catering to Nazi elements.*

• Charles Percy, former boy wonder of Bell and Howell Camera Co. (he became president at 29), has got off on the wrong foot with many Republicans in his campaign to unseat Sen. Paul Douglas (D.-Ill.). Recently asked if he voted for Goldwater, Percy, according to the Washington *Evening Star*, blushed and said that not even his wife had dared to ask him that. Percy also indicated he did not favor Sen. Everett Dirksen's attempts to correct the Supreme Court's ruling that all houses in a state legislature had to be on a "one-man, one-vote" formula. He said he is "heartily in favor of the principle of 'one man, one vote.'"

PERCY

• *Rep. Robert P. Griffin (R.-Mich.), co-author of the Landrum-Griffin labor bill, has announced he will seek the GOP nomination for the Senate seat now held by Sen. Pat McNamara (D.-Mich.). Insiders say Griffin, who has posted a moderately conservative voting record, is a good bet to capture the post.*

• Sen. Jack Miller (R.-Iowa) has called for a congressional investigation of radio tapes produced by California leftists for propaganda broadcasts by North Viet Nam. Miller said that if no law existed under which the Justice Department can stop the movement of the tapes, Congress should enact legislation to block the tapes. Californian Ronald Ramsey, a self-proclaimed revolutionary, has produced the broadcasts, which urge U.S. GIs to lay down their arms.

RAMSEY

• *A top California politician who is close to Sen. Thomas Kuchel (R.-Calif.) says the GOP minority whip is going all out to stop Ronald Reagan from gaining the GOP gubernatorial nomination in California. Kuchel, this man says, feels that if Reagan captures both the nomination and the governorship Kuchel will have no more political influence in the Golden State.*

# This Week in Washington

## State Department Scandal

The never-ending case of Otto Otepka, the State Department official fired in 1963 for exposing shoddy department security practices, continues to drag on. Patiently, Otepka awaits his department hearing in order to vindicate himself. Whether the department will ever permit him to prove his innocence now seems open to question.

Meanwhile, however, the Senate Internal Security subcommittee has been pouring out voluminous testimony involving the Otepka matter which only seems to bear out Otepka's judgment of the department: its security system is, to say the least, atrocious. Take, for example, the testimony of Harry Hite, a top-flight security evaluator with the department.

**Recently released hearings reveal that Hite's evaluations were actually altered by his superior, David Belisle. Belisle, it is recalled, was caught in one untruth in regard to the Otepka case, but, even after confessing it, became executive secretary to a committee which cleared the controversial William Wieland. Wieland, of course, helped steer the United States into support of Castro.**

The altering incident was brought to light by Jay Sourwine, chief counsel to the Senate subcommittee. Sourwine asked Hite if he had ever had his "conclusions" changed in a report by one of his superiors.

Hite replied that it had happened in October of 1963. "I had evaluated a presidential case," said Hite, "which went forward through my supervisor, Mr. Loughton, and from Mr. Loughton it went to Mr. Belisle. Apparently Mr. Belisle disagreed with my evaluation of that particular case and changed it.

"I say 'apparently' because I was not aware of the changes that were made on that case until a month later when my supervisor called it to my attention."

Sourwine tried to clarify: "You don't mean he entered in the file a notation of his disagreement with you; you mean he physically changed what you had written?"

Hite: "Yes, sir."

Sourwine: "Underneath which appears your signature?"

Hite: "Yes, sir."

Hite then revealed that Belisle, without Hite's knowledge, deleted some information which made the findings "more favorable" for the individual being evaluated.

**Yet this is only one of the curious cases that has come out of the recently released hearings. Another key figure in the Otepka case, Elmer Dewey Hill, has, it seems, had a rather strange life. Hill, who is no longer with the department, was the man who bugged Otepka's phone and lied about the fact to members of the Senate Internal Security subcommittee.**

In January 1962, it develops, Hill had been hired as a security officer for the department even though he had been initially turned down for his beatnik ways. He received the job when he saw "someone upstairs" in Washington. He caused some consternation—even among the State Department people—when he showed up for work with a cleanly shaven head and a fringe of beard "running from ear to ear under his chin."

In April 1962 Hill was sent to Europe to pursue his specialty, the "bugging" of telephone lines and detection of Communist attempts to install listening devices and tap telephones in American embassies.

According to startled witnesses who later filed reports, Hill became intoxicated and disorderly at four separate parties in the first week of this tour, most if it behind the Iron Curtain.

When reports of Hill's conduct (only partially denied by Hill) were received in Washington, John F. Reilly, newly appointed director of the office of security, buried them in a file to which he had sole access and marked them "for eyes only." (Reilly, who is no longer with the department, has also admitted telling untruths to the Senate Internal Security subcommittee in regard to Otepka.)

Strangely enough, however,—or maybe not too strange at all for those who have followed the Otepka case—Hill was *promoted* to chief of the division and one of the three security officers who reported his conduct was *fired*.

## Will Tax Dollars Aid Reds?

Democratic leaders have rammed through the House the Asian Development Bank which, under the articles establishing it, would enable Communist countries to receive American and free world aid. The House has committed $200 million to its operations. The bill, which has been given a new number, HR 12563, will now be considered by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

As pointed out on these pages last week, Communist Outer Mongolia, which sent "volunteers" to fight against the United States in Korea, can currently obtain aid under the bank's charter. Red China, North Korea, North Viet Nam and other Red Asian countries could receive aid through this proposed lending institution if they were to become formal or associate members of the United Nations. (For more on the bank, see page 6)

**Many lawmakers favor the bill on the grounds that its passage will demonstrate our support of free Asia, since non-Communist Asian countries would receive the lion's share of the bank's funds, but few are aware of the loopholes whereby Communist countries can obtain U.S. aid. Nor is this hard to understand, since leaders have done much to hide the fact.**

The Democratic-controlled House Banking and Currency Committee, headed by Rep. Wright Patman (D.-Tex.), carefully laundered out of the bill and the report it presented to Congress any suggestion that Communist nations could receive aid, even though this is crystal clear in the President's bank message contained in House Document No. 361.

The details of the bank were also hidden from the lawmakers because Democratic congressional leaders—aided by Republicans who had Lincoln Day speaking engagements from Thursday on through the week-end—desired to speed the bill through the House in the early part of the week.

In order to rush the bill through, for example, the Democrats refused to make available the report or the hearings until the afternoon before the vote. Under a suspension of the rules, the Democrats limited debating time for the opposition to just 20 minutes and foreclosed any amendments from the floor.

Rep. Howard Smith (D.-Va.), chairman of the Rules Committee which normally passes on such important legislation, remarked: "I am just wondering how it [the bill] has gotten up here notwithstanding that none of us have had any opportunity really to give it any consideration."

Rep. H. R. Gross (R.-Iowa) was moved to say: "I say it is a travesty in the name of the legislative process to bring up a bill of this magnitude under suspension of the rules. . . . This is a monstrous procedure. . . ."

Nevertheless, the House passed it 293-80, thus paving the way for American aid to Red nations in Asia.

## Victory Over Big Labor

The American public won a resounding victory against the labor union barons on February 10 as the





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Senate beat down, for the second time in one week, an attempt to close off the Dirksen-led filibuster against repeal of right-to-work.

The final vote was 50 to 49—16 votes shy of the two-thirds majority required. (For how senators were recorded on the first anti-filibuster vote, February 8, see page 3. The only senator to change on the second rollcall was George McGovern, who reverted to opposition to cloture. The only senator not voting was Sen. Pat McNamara (D.-Mich.), who is ill.)

**In spite of Big Labor's repeal drive, the bill was as good as buried for the rest of this session. Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (Mont.) told newsmen the bill will continue on the calendar, but "with the words RIP (Rest in Peace) beside it."**

The National Right-to-Work Committee and such Republican senators as Paul Fannin (Ariz.) and Thurmond (S.C.) are receiving much praise for their efforts to roll back the union juggernaut. Citizens at the grass roots also accomplished a great deal through intensive letter-writing campaigns.

Sen. Everett Dirksen (R.-Ill.), the GOP minority leader who led the filibuster and helped crystallize the issue for the public, is, of course, getting a major share of the credit.

Dirksen's comments to Sen. John Pastore (D.-R.I.) during the heat of the filibuster battle are still being recalled. Repeal of right-to-work, the minority leader told Pastore, would nullify all such laws in 19 states, installing compulsory union membership in all 50 states, "thus dragooning free American citizens into enriching union treasuries against their will."

**Has the Johnson Administration, Dirksen said, "by giving priority to this measure, made compulsory unionism more important than young soldiers fighting in Viet Nam under compulsory conscription? Will they come back to a free land or one where the government has a weapon to force them into union membership?"**

"If the people don't want this bill," retorted Pastore, "why don't you let us vote on it?"

"Because the people don't have labor leaders in plush citadels, sending their lobbyists through the corridors to put the finger on members of Congress," responded Dirksen. "The people do not have arm twisters on Capitol Hill."

The senator from Illinois will now start battling full time for his reapportionment amendment, which would modify the Supreme Court's "one-man, one-vote" decision.

## Harriman-Ball Game

Diplomatic observers say that LBJ's spectacular trip to Honolulu to meet Premier Nguyen Cao Ky of South Viet Nam has achieved two beneficial effects: 1. it demonstrated the U.S. government was behind Ky; and 2. Johnson made it look as if he were treating South Viet Nam as a co-equal partner of the United States, thus helping to dispel effective Red propaganda that Ky's government is just an American puppet.

But, it is emphasized, all these diplomatic and psychological gains will mean nothing if LBJ doesn't agree to step up the war effort.

Columnist Joseph Alsop, writing from Saigon, said last week that part of the "crisis of confidence" over American policy "results from the extreme reluctance, in certain quarters of the Johnson Administration, to give the war effort here the essential moral and material support." The enemy's backbone in regular forces, said Alsop, "can be broken eventually, provided Gen. Westmoreland is given the needed margin of power and support from Washington to maintain a relentless pressure."

But so far LBJ has been pursuing a different course. He has already limited the bombing in the north to less important areas than he did prior to the 37-day bomb pause. He still refuses to blockade or mine strategic Haiphong harbor, where the Communists get their military and economic goods.

**The Johnson Administration also seems to be retreating step by step into acceptance of certain Communist political demands. Ho Chi Minh wants to go back to the Geneva agreements of 1954; this, apparently, is our current goal as well.**

The National Liberation Front, Ho's stooge government in the south, wants to be recognized as a distinct entity from North Viet Nam and a legitimate political body. Previously the United States had been opposed to this. But both W. Averell Harriman and George W. Ball have now indicated the American government would be willing to recognize the NLF. Harriman, in fact, said just before LBJ went to Honolulu that there is no objection to having the NLF participate in a peace conference as an "independent group."

## Fulbright's Appeasement Forum

Sen. J.W. Fulbright (D.-Ark.), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, has manipulated his committee hearings into a sounding board for those who counsel retreat on Viet Nam.

First, the Arkansas appeaser called up Lt. Gen. James Gavin (Ret.) who, in spite of some confusing remarks, basically advocated a "no-win" policy. Gavin said he was against "escalating" the war, felt more U.S. troops might trigger a Chinese reaction and indicated we should negotiate even while we were losing. He also called for expansion of East-West trade and admission of Red China into the United Nations.

Gavin was followed by ex-diplomat George Kennan. Kennan also came out against any escalation of the war and regretted any further commitments to Viet Nam that LBJ may have made at the Honolulu conference. Kennan also declared that the current war had "grievously" hurt American-Soviet relations. The Fulbright hearings have been played up favorably in the Communist press.

## Bomb Pause Disaster

There's more evidence that LBJ's 37-day pause in the bombing of North Viet Nam has seriously endangered American fighting men. U.S. Air Force reconnaissance planes took pictures showing the North Vietnamese used the lull to grade new missile sites, reconstruct torn bridges, repair cratered roads and pour truckload after truckload of supplies toward Communist units in the south. Much of the convoying, moreover, was done in the daytime.

**The new missile sites look like the sites the Russians constructed in Cuba which triggered President Kennedy's ultimatum to Khrushchev in 1962.**

Additional Red anti-aircraft batteries were assembled during the pause and returning pilots report the flak is heavy. Three American planes were lost to such groundfire with the resumption of the bombing of storage areas and supply lines on February 4. Last week a pair of Soviet missiles knocked a Navy jet out of the sky.

Intelligence sources in Saigon say that as a result of the bomb lull seven North Vietnamese regular regiments are now linked up with the Viet Cong in South Viet Nam. There probably are two more regiments, they say, and possibly still another—a total of 10.

Informed quarters in Saigon relate that the North Vietnamese also used the lull to train jet pilots in safety procedures. During the earlier bombings the American fliers rarely saw an enemy plane because Hanoi was not ready to commit itself to aerial combat.

Intelligence men say the pilot training school near Hanoi has gotten much out of the pause and its fleet of about 65 Russian jets—some of them supersonic MIG-21s—may be employed soon.

• *Sen. John Tower's (R.-Tex.) chances of recapturing his Senate seat look better all the time. Atty. Gen. Waggoner Carr had been the only Democrat to enter the race, but now the picture has been complicated by the entrance of the liberal Democratic editor of the* Texas Observer, *Ronnie Dugger. Dugger, however, is not choosing to run in the primary but as an independent in the general election. Many of the pros feel he'll draw enough liberal Democrats away from Carr to allow Tower to win with just a plurality of votes.*

# CAPITOL CAMERA

• An American defector who spent 12 years in Red China says that demonstrations against the U.S. war effort in Viet Nam are inspired by Peking. Writing in *Look* magazine, Morris R. Wills said that he met once a week with a group of American expatriates in Peking. He said the group is in touch with Americans who slip in and out of Red China and North Viet Nam. "They discussed what more they could do to develop the movement in America—on the campus, among the Negroes and anywhere else—to try to bring Americans into this chain [of demonstrations]," Wills wrote. "They were mainly interested in professors and students. The Chinese party envisioned the Vietnamese war coming to a halt because of this movement in America."

WILLS

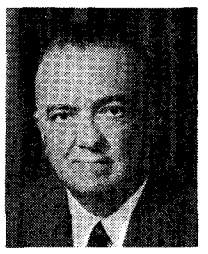
• *Former Vice President Richard Nixon is the overwhelming choice of rank-and-file Republicans for their party's 1968 presidential nomination, according to pollster George Gallup. Nixon held a commanding lead of more than 2 to 1 over his nearest competitor. New York Mayor John Lindsay, darling of the liberal Republicans, ran very poorly, receiving the support of only 4 per cent of the GOP voters.*

• Those who have been taking their hats off to Mayor Lindsay for allegedly settling the transit strike in New York City have doffed them much too promptly. N.Y. Supreme Court Justice Irving H. Saypol said last week that the settlement was illegal. "It is plain," said Saypol, "that [the Transit Authority and the Civil Service Commission] are forbidden at their peril from any course which would increase the compensation of the strikers, in violation of the Condon-Wadlin Law, before Jan. 14, 1969." The Condon-Wadlin law, which forbids public employes to strike, states that strikers cannot receive wage increases for three years from the time they return to work. Saypol rebuked the authority for "submitting to illegally extorted demands. . . . If responsible officials cannot stand up in firm resistance, the court will."

SAYPOL

• *Is Cuba a paradise? Latest U.S. government figures reveal that no less than 800,000 Cubans have told Castro they want to leave his Communist haven to enter the United States. This figure, of course, does not include Castro's political prisoners whom Castro won't permit to leave the country.*

• FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover says the Communist party is seizing on a current "insurrectionary climate" on American campuses to serve the Moscow cause. Writing in the monthly "FBI Enforcement Bulletin," Hoover said today's college student is "being subjected to a bewildering and dangerous conspiracy" through a "feigned concern for the vital rights of free speech, dissent and petition." The nation's top law enforcement officer said the Communist party is jubilant over these activities and is exploiting them with a two-prong movement—"a much-publicized college speaking program and the campus-oriented W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America."


HOOVER

• *Civil rights leader Julian Bond, who was refused a seat in the Georgia House of Representatives because he endorsed a statement saying America was following a "murderous" policy in Viet Nam, has been asked by the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE) to help in its drive to elect congressmen opposed to war. Bond has said "yes."*





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# Quick Passage of Asian Development Bank Is Central to Johnson's Viet Nam Strategy

**From the Allen-Scott Report**

President Johnson is linking a vigorous effort for speedy congressional approval of the multi-billion-dollar Asian Development Bank with his strategy of seeking a Viet Nam settlement through the United Nations.

While his vigorous lobbying for the controversial new international lending agency is being kept under cover, Democratic congressional leaders are saying privately he wants them to give it priority over other legislation.

**They report the President wants the Asian Development Bank measure enacted by March so Ambassador Arthur Goldberg can dangle this juicy financial carrot before both North Viet Nam and Red China as the United Nations grapples with the war issue.**

The proposed international lending institution, designed "to permit all of Asia to develop her manifold human and natural resources," would be open to all countries, regardless of ideology, that are members of the United Nations or its specialized agencies.

Headed by former World Bank President Eugene Black, a U.S. delegation signed the charter of the bank in Manila December 4 with 29 other nations, including:

Afghanistan, Australia, Belgium, Burma, Cambodia, Canada, Ceylon, Republic of China, Denmark, Federal Republic of Germany, India, Iran, Italy, Japan, Laos, Malaysia, Mongolia, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Pakistan, Philippines, Republic of Korea, Republic of Viet Nam, Singapore, Thailand, Great Britain and Western Samoa.

Russia sent a delegation to the conference but withheld decision on joining until later this year—probably after the next vote on Red China's admission to the United Nations.

According to Democratic members of the House Banking Committee, which is set to approve the bill this week, the three words "regardless of ideology" were included in the President's message to clear the way for inclusion in the bank of both North Viet Nam and Communist China.

**These legislators, reporting on White House briefings, are saying the Administration is seeking congressional approval for the bank "to permit the United States to offer billions to Hanoi and Peking to fight poverty as an alternative to their waging war in South Viet Nam."**

But it is being pointed out that this economic approach to Asia's basic political-military problem could be used by Peking and Hanoi to bolster their sagging economies. Subsequently these economies could produce the war materials to support the Reds' long-range plans to dominate Southeast Asia.

Authors of the proposed Asian Development Bank are Robert W. Barnett, deputy assistant secretary for Far Eastern Economic Affairs, one of the State Department's least-known China experts, and Assistant Treasury Secretary Merlyn N. Trued, who handled the preliminary negotiations for the United States.

To drum up congressional backing for their project, Barnett and Trued are circulating a "background memorandum" among key legislators outlining the following reasons for and the objectives of the proposed bank:

"Early congressional action is required if the United States is to play its proper role in the formation of the bank this year.

"The bank is to have an authorized capital of $1 billion; the board of governors by a special majority vote can increase the authorized capital; its membership will number 30 or more countries, including many capital-contributing developed countries as well as the countries of Asia, regardless of ideology. The first U.S. subscription will be $200 million.

"The bank will be Asian in character and multilateral in form. As a nucleus around which Asian cooperation can grow, the bank can promote closer ties within the region which the United States has long sought; as a financial vehicle, the bank can spread the burden of foreign assistance more broadly, serving as a channel for special funds which other donor countries may provide on special terms to meet special needs of the region.

"Establishment of the Asian bank is a vital element in current efforts to offer the peoples of Asia a reason to hope for a better future and for an opportunity to enjoy the fruits of peaceful economic progress."

According to this backstage memorandum, the bank would "bring an explicitly Asian viewpoint to bear on the problems of complimentary growth in the region.

"The bank would satisfy the widespread desire among countries of the region for an institution attuned specifically to meeting Asian economic needs, and would point toward that peaceful cooperation in Asia which is the region's most pressing need."

**The two authors of the memorandum are markedly hazy about the political control of this bank—a fact that is particularly significant in view of the possibility that Red China and North Viet Nam may eventually become members of the institution.**

On this vital question of bank control, they say ambiguously: "The Asian bank can offer an institution with its own tangible and constructive purpose to serve as a nucleus around which broader forms of economic and possibly political cooperation could grow.

"Asia as a whole enjoys no history of common political institutions comparable to the Organization of American States in Latin America. The political infrastructure must be built out of positive acts of economic cooperation such as the bank would provide in its daily operations."

In President Johnson's message to Congress, he declared, "The bank will reinforce existing aid programs in Asia and thereby multiply their effectiveness."

This will be accomplished, he held, by linking the bank's resources—financial and human—to such institutions as the Mekong Coordinating Committee, whose purpose is to develop the Mekong River which originates in Communist China and runs through Laos, Cambodia and South Viet Nam.

Japan has matched the U.S. pledge for $200 million for the bank. India has pledged $93 million—most of it indirectly put up by the United States. Australia is committed for $85 million, and another $100 million has been pledged by European countries and Canada.

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***'Happy Pappy' Program***

# Kentucky Poverty War a Cruel Hoax

The multi-billion-dollar "War on Poverty" is the subject of a devastating expose by a prize-winning newsman, Haynes Johnson of the Washington *Star*. Johnson spent several weeks in a sorely depressed area, Breathitt County, Ky., and found the poverty war a cruel hoax.

**The anti-poverty program there is tightly controlled by the political machine of Democratic Judge Ervine Turner and his family.**

"The key to the political importance of the program is that it is entirely up to the county to handle the hiring and firing," Johnson reported. "No matter where you travel in the county you are told that if you want anything from a highway job to a poverty job, see the Turners."

Millions of federal anti-poverty dollars disbursed by the Turners have not cured poverty. In fact, Johnson found, they have tended to perpetuate it. Consider a $13-million Work Experience and Training Program, known in the county as the "Happy Pappy" program. Unemployed fathers are monthly given a tax-free $250 in federal funds, plus free medical care and below-cost foodstuffs.

The men do not even have to go to town to pick up their checks; they are mailed to them. There is no time limitation. Many men in Breathitt County have been receiving "Happy Pappy" checks for almost two years. The program cures no poverty; on the contrary, it keeps in Breathitt County men and women who could hold jobs in other sections of the country. Writes Johnson:

"To hear the men talk, most of them have no intention of getting off the program. It means, particularly in these bleak winter months, less hunger, more warmth, a glimmer of hope for the young, some comfort for the old. But it brings no great upsurge of hope, no sense of change."

Johnson has sharp criticism for those running the anti-poverty program in the

Poverty czar Sargent Shriver

county. The complaint is heard, he reported, that even when the poverty office is open—and this is frequently—one can't find anyone there except a secretary.

For the first two weeks of this year, the local anti-poverty director (whose federally underwritten salary is $700 a month) was vacationing in Florida. No one, including his secretary, knew when he would return. (He finally showed up January 18.)

The other full-time employe, the assistant director, comes to the office about half of each day. He spends the rest of the time, Johnson said, working in a local radio station.


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## *Principle Is His Most Important Product*

# Why Californians Look to Ronald Reagan

By LEE EDWARDS

The California governor's race is one of the most important political contests of 1966: important for California, of course, but equally important for the future of the Republican party and the nation.

The Golden State has been dominated by liberal Democrats since 1958. If they win again this year, at a time when the electorate is restless, dissatisfied and looking for alternatives, they will run California for many years to come. A victory for conservative Ronald Reagan, however, will break this Democratic strangle hold on California.

If Ronald Reagan wins, moreover, he will be an obvious candidate for the Republican nomination for President—if not in 1968, then certainly in 1972 (assuming he is re-elected in 1970).

Conservative Republicans need a Reagan victory to help answer effectively the liberal Republican claim that only someone like Mayor John Lindsay of New York City can lead the GOP into the winner's circle in 1972.

The nation also needs a Reagan victory. If "Governor" Reagan can make his conservative theories of balanced government and cooperation between state, community and individual work, he will have demonstrated conclusively that Washington, D.C., is not the only or even the best place to find the solutions for the problems of modern society.

**He will have proved that our traditional form of republican government should be preserved for the best reason of all: It works better than any other.**

If Reagan already looks and acts like a winner, it is with good reason: All experts are agreed that he is an odds-on favorite to win the Republican nomination for governor on June 7 and an excellent bet to defeat incumbent Edmund (Pat) Brown in the general election this fall.

This writer spent two weeks in California late last year interviewing the top politicians and political workers in the state. Without exception, every one picked Reagan to win the nomination.

Why? Because in many ways, Ronald Reagan is an ideal candidate for California:

- He has unquestioned charm and voter appeal, to men as well as women.
- He lives in Los Angeles in the more populous southern half of the state.
- As an article in the New York *Times Magazine* (Nov. 14, 1965) noted: "Reagan is articulate. He is earnest. He has done his homework." He knows the issues.
- He has substantial financial backing, which is absolutely necessary in a state of 17 million people and a coastline that stretches 750 miles.
- He will have organizational muscle; the same dedicated conservatives who worked so hard for Sen. Barry Goldwater in California in 1964 will turn out again for Reagan.
- As a former Democrat, he can cut across the party lines in a state where party loyalty has never been very strong.
- He has the highly regarded political management firm of Spencer-Roberts in his corner.
- He is a master of television, the medium which is so important in the far-flung reaches of California.
- For all his Hollywood glow, Ronald Reagan is an earnest, intelligent man who naturally projects these qualities either in person or on the screen.
- He is also blessed with that quality ever present in winners—luck. In college, in radio, in Hollywood, in business and in politics, he has usually been in the right place at the right time with the right answer.

## His Experience

The one argument that opponents will throw up against Reagan most often is that "He's only an actor. He has no practical experience." This crude generalization does not jibe with the facts. As Reagan himself points out in the exclusive interview that follows, he has broader experience than most lawyers or businessmen who aspire to public office.

He has been a labor union leader, he has been personally involved in the struggle against communism, he has had good administrative experience in the military. As far as political campaigning is concerned, Reagan has traveled back and forth across California and the nation, delivering thousands of campaign speeches for Republican candidates in recent years.

The Senate election victory for George Murphy in 1964 also is encouraging to the Reagan camp, for it shows that the "mere actor" charge is not effective with the California voters.

Despite his qualifications, however, 10 years ago Reagan would have been fortunate to have been nominated, let alone elected. The 1950s, after all, were the Era of Earl Warren in California.

But now he has burst into political prominence at the very time when the voters of California are tired of Pat Brown and are looking for a new face.

And the issues are with the challenger:

- Taxes are up. Per capita state taxes since 1959 have increased from $117.58 to $157.36. More than $250 million in new taxes will be needed next year.
- State spending is up. Brown has proposed a budget of $4.5 billion—the highest state budget ever recorded in U.S. history. Since Brown has been in office, California population has increased 27 per cent, while the state budget has increased 87 per cent.
- Crime is up. The California crime rate rose 12 per cent last year; with 9 per cent of the U.S. population, the state accounts for 17 per cent of the crime.
- Prices are up.
- Pollution and traffic are up.
- Welfare costs have increased 73 per cent during the governor's administration.
- Berkeley and Watts have stained California's reputation from coast to coast.

Gov. Brown, who is not necessarily responsible for all of these problems, must nevertheless assume the responsibility for them—and the voters' displeasure as well.

Issues are one side of the frayed Brown image. The other side is the man himself. Ask anyone in California what he thinks of Pat Brown and he will invariably reply, "Well, I like him—but he's kind of indecisive (or bumbling) (or erratic) (or slow) (or naive)."

**"Reagan is articulate. He is earnest. He has done his homework."**
**—Leo Litwak in the New York Times Magazine (Nov. 14, 1965)**

Democratic leaders read the ominous handwriting on the wall, but are stymied. Brown has announced he is going to run for a third four-year term and chances are no one can beat him in the primary; in fact, probably none will try, although Los Angeles Mayor Sam Yorty has given indications he might enter the race.

Brown has the patronage and the organizational leverage as the state's chief executive. Furthermore, President Johnson has quietly indicated that Brown is his man and he wants no intra-party squabble.

Despite LBJ, however, voter dissatisfaction has mounted and the main beneficiary has been Ronald Reagan, now California's most talked-about politician. What is Reagan's background and why has he come so far so fast?

## Road to Hollywood

Ronald Wilson Reagan was born Feb. 6, 1911, in Tampico, Ill., the son of a shoe clerk and sometime store manager. Upon graduation from high school, he went to Eureka College, a small co-educational school supervised by the Christian Church. (Today, Reagan is a member of the Hollywood-Beverly Christian Church—the same denomination as Lyndon Johnson belongs to.)

Because of his athletic skill, Eureka officials gave Reagan a scholarship for half his tuition and a job washing dishes for expenses. He majored in economics and sociology and showed an early interest in campus politics, getting elected president of the student body. Besides playing first-string on the football team, he was the leading man in several dramatic productions.

After graduation, the 21-year-old Reagan set his sights on a career in show business. Since Broadway and Hollywood, as he says, "were as inaccessible as outer space," he compromised on radio.

**Within five years, Ron Reagan, as "voice" of the Chicago Cubs and the Chicago White Sox for his station, became one of the best-known sports announcers in the Midwest.**

In 1937 he was in California with the Cubs and, through a friend, was given a screen test by Warner Brothers. The test proved successful and later that year he began a career which was to include 50 motion pictures, several of them box-office bonanzas.

He made friends with many of the great stars of Hollywood, outstanding personalities like Pat O'Brien, Dick Powell, James Cagney, Humphrey Bogart, Ann Sheridan, Robert Taylor, George Murphy and William Holden. Regardless of party affiliation, almost all are supporters of his present bid for political office.

Soon after Pearl Harbor was bombed, Ronald Reagan was called into active duty. He had been an officer in the U.S. Army Cavalry Reserves since the early 1930s, having bluffed his way through the eye test. Because of his extremely poor eyesight, however, he never saw combat duty. (He now wears contact lenses everywhere and sometimes eyeglasses over them for heavy reading.)

He spent the war in Hollywood at what was known as "Fort Roach," the site of the Hal Roach studios. "From a motion picture standpoint," he explains, "it added up to about $200 million worth of talent on the hoof. We would turn out training films and documentaries and conduct a training school for combat camera units."

Reagan was appointed adjutant officer of this unique military base of 1,300 men and officers. He was promoted to captain but asked that his promotion to major be cancelled. "Who was I to be a major for serving in California," he asks, "without ever hearing a shot fired in anger?"

"Fort Roach" engaged in several secret projects. The most important was the erection of a complete miniature model of Tokyo which was then photographed from above to show what the city would look like from planes traveling at varying heights and speeds.

Continued on next page

*At 33, Mr. Edwards is already a veteran writer and publicist. A frequent contributor to conservative journals, he was the first editor of the* New Guard, *the YAF publication, and is co-editor of the book,* Behind the Civil Rights Mask.



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***"I remember when I was a boy, my father used to say over and over again that the country needed a good five-cent cigar. This country needs a good five-cent nickel."—Ronald Reagan***

**These films, which Reagan narrated, were shown to American pilots scheduled to fly over Tokyo and resulted in improved bombing efficiency and saved lives as well.**

With the war's end, Reagan came back to Hollywood, eager to resume his acting career. But events in the movie capital were to embroil him in serious labor-management disputes and politics.

Strikes had begun even before the war's end as Hollywood unions fought for jurisdiction of a $5-billion-a-year industry. Between 1945 and 1947, there were half a dozen major strikes in Hollywood, costing movie makers approximately $150 million. About 8,000 workers, according to Reagan, lost nine million man hours and some $28 million in wages.

The bitter struggle was created to a great extent by Communist attempts to seize control of one of the most important media in the nation.

At this time, Reagan was admittedly naive about communism. "I thought," he says, "the nearest Communists were fighting in Stalingrad." He also admits that he was a "near hopeless hemophilic liberal."

Following in his father's political footsteps, he had voted for Roosevelt all through the 1930s and 1940s and for Harry Truman in 1948. But his army experience with bureaucracy and his fight against Communist subversion in Hollywood changed him. He has voted Republican in every presidential election since 1948.

But when he first came out of the army in 1945, his sympathies were unreservedly liberal. He joined every organization "I could find that would guarantee to save the world."

For over a year, he made speeches denouncing fascism to enthusiastic applause. Then one night, at the suggestion of a minister, he added a new last paragraph denouncing communism. The audience sat sullen and silent and Ronald Reagan realized that the people he had been talking to were curiously one-minded.

He cut back drastically on his speaking engagements and started intense research on current affairs. He began to appreciate the very real menace of communism as he devoted more time to the Screen Actors Guild, of which he was a director, and its efforts to settle the jurisdictional strike.

Violence increased. Autos were overturned. Clubs, chains, bottles, bricks and two-by-four planks were used in scuffles between the warring unions. Homes of members were bombed and individuals were mugged.

The Screen Actors Guild (SAG) volunteered as a mediator and came close to finding a solution on several occasions. But each time its efforts failed, often at the very last moment. The reason they failed was later revealed by congressional committees.

**Both the House Committee on Un-American Activities of the U.S. Congress and the Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in California traced the strike to Communists.**

In 1959, the California committee reported: "The Communist party working in Hollywood wanted control over everything that moved on wheels . . . . They soon moved Communist units into those unions having jurisdiction over carpenters, painters, musicians, grips and electricians. To control these trade unions was to control the motion picture industry."

## Anti-Communist Battle

The strike, which was settled when responsible union leaders endorsed the position of the old-line International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes, had a profound effect on Ronald Reagan. He says, "I owe it to that period that I managed to sort out a lot of items in my personal life. From being an active (although unconscious) partisan in what now and then turned out to be Communist causes, I little by little became . . . awakened."

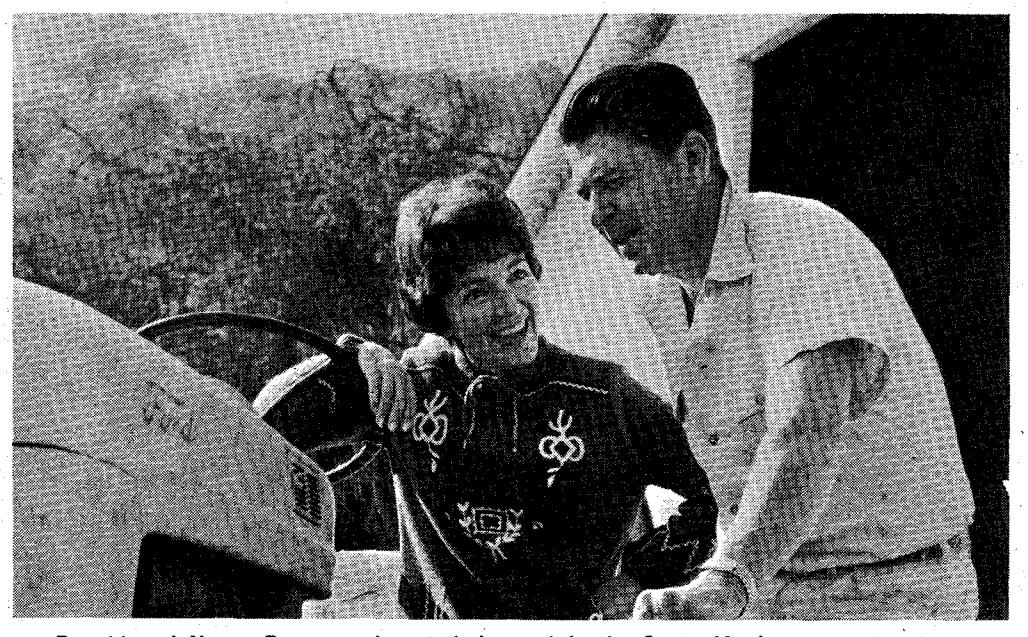
That Ronald Reagan evolved into a hard-hitting, effective anti-Communist was confirmed by testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Actor Sterling Hayden went before the HCUA to confess his involvement in the Communist plot.

**Testifying on Communist maneuvers to capture Hollywood, Hayden was asked what stopped them. His answer: "We ran into a one-man battalion named Ronnie Reagan."**

One of Reagan's first experiences with Communists was their infiltration of the original American Veterans Committee, of which he was a national board member. He worked hard for the AVC until one day he was told to report in full Air Corps uniform to picket a studio. Reagan investigated the order and discovered that the action had been taken by a vote of 73 members out of a total of 1,300.

He called headquarters to warn that if the picket was held as an official action of AVC membership, he would take full-page advertisements in the newspapers denouncing it. In less than an hour the picket line was cancelled. Shortly thereafter, Reagan resigned from the AVC board and membership.

Another group which invited Ronald Reagan to serve on its board was the Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of Arts, Sciences and Professions (HICCASP), an ostensibly respectable and responsible organization. But when he attended his first board meeting, Reagan noted to his surprise the presence of several persons with far-left and worse records.



Ronald and Nancy Reagan relax at their ranch in the Santa Monica mountains just outside Los Angeles, where the GOP hopeful raises thoroughbred horses.

The meeting proceeded smoothly until one board member rose to state that he was concerned as were several others about the persistent rumor that HICCASP was a Communist-front organization. He suggested the board clear the air by issuing a statement repudiating communism.

Reagan immediately got to his feet and enthusiastically supported the suggestion, only to be hit with such descriptive phrases as "capitalist scum," "enemy of the proletariat" and "Fascist."

Those in favor of the anti-Communist statement met later that evening at the apartment of Olivia de Havilland. There Reagan was told that the whole thing had been staged to smoke out the "others." They set to work drafting a statement, with Ronald Reagan writing the first draft on the back of an envelope. The final version ended: "We reaffirm our belief in free enterprise and the democratic system and repudiate communism."

When this statement was submitted for a vote to the members of a special executive committee, it received only one favorable ballot, that of Miss de Havilland.

**Reagan resigned from the board by telegram that night, as did others. Shortly thereafter, HICCASP quietly expired.**

As a result of this and other anti-Communist activity, Reagan began receiving threats against his life. One night, on location, he was called to a phone where an unidentified voice told him: "There's a group being formed to deal with you. They're going to fix you so you won't ever act again."

The next day, at the insistence of friends and associates, Warner Brothers Studios arranged for the police to give Reagan a license to carry a gun, a shoulder holster and a loaded .32 Smith & Wesson. He wore it for months until the strike had been settled and Hollywood had returned to some semblance of normalcy.

During this turbulent period, Ronald Reagan was elected president of the Screen Actors Guild. He was re-elected president five times.

Under his leadership, the SAG purged its ranks of actors who were not cleared of Communist charges. SAG later adopted as official policy the condemnation of all members "who have been named as past or present Communist party members and in appearing before the House Committee on Un-American Activities refused to state whether they are or ever have been members of the party."

The guild also declared that any applicant for membership must sign the following statement: "I am not now and will not become a member of the Communist party or of any other organization that seeks to overthrow the government of the United States by force and violence."

(Reagan was also elected chairman of the Motion Picture Industry Council, the most prestigious organization in Hollywood, in 1949.)

As SAG president, he went to Washington to testify about Communist influence in the Hollywood strikes. Reagan admits that his long association with SAG probably hurt his movie career, but he has a typical answer:

"I think I became too identified with the serious side of Hollywood's off-screen life—there were too many people who saw me only as a committee member. Would I do it again? Yes—this has been the best of all possible lives for me and I think you have to do something to pay your way in life."

As an article in the Jan. 21, 1966, issue of *Life* magazine commented: "Reagan was an extremely capable labor leader and the guild's esteem for him is evidenced by the fact that he was recalled to the union presidency in a 1959 emergency, to lead a successful strike against the studios over the issue of TV residual pay for actors."

In his own mind, the most important "dividend" of his union presidency was a chance meeting with a lovely young actress from Chicago named Nancy Davis. (Reagan and his first wife, Jane Wyman, were divorced in 1948.) Nancy soon became Mrs. Ronald Reagan. They have two children, Patricia and Ronald, and live in an attractive eight-room house on a hill overlooking Los Angeles.

Good pictures came less frequently in this period, but Reagan refused to panic, turning down several roles which he knew to be wrong for him. At last, after more than a year and a half, came a "role" which was to give him a brand new career—and complete his political transformation from liberal Democrat to conservative Republican.

He was hired in 1954 by General Electric to host its weekly televison series, *GE Theater*. The program was to last eight years and for seven of those years it was No. 1 in a prime viewing spot —9 o'clock Sunday night.

Besides appearing for General Electric on television, Ron Reagan toured the country for the giant company. In eight years he visited all 135 GE plants and personally met 250,000 employes.

As the years passed, Reagan's concern about the future of his country began to assume larger and larger proportions.

**"My speeches underwent a kind of evolution," he explains, "reflecting not only my changing philosophy but also the swiftly rising tide of collectivism that threatens to inundate what remains of our free economy."**

## Communists Fear Reagan

**"Ronald Reagan is already campaigning for governor of California. Doubtless he figures that if a song-and-dance man can make it to the U.S. Senate, why shouldn't a movie hero who has been active in right-wing politics for a dozen years, chairing the California Citizens for Goldwater-Miller last year, make it to the governor's chair and—who knows?—beyond! Even nationally, where Goldwater's name has ceased to thrill, Reagan is becoming the new darling. It should be recognized at once that, ridiculous as it may seem to some, Reagan is a serious threat for the governorship."**

—Richard Loring in the August 1965 issue of Political Affairs, the chief theoretical organ of the Communist Party, USA



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In an age of eager ghosts and speechwriters, he writes and researches his own speeches. He is particularly proud of two awards he has received: Freedoms Foundation Awards in 1960 and 1962 for "outstanding achievement in bringing about a better understanding of the American way of life."

In 1960, after years of comparative political inactivity, Ronald Reagan campaigned openly as a Democrat for the Republican nominee for President—Richard M. Nixon. "I literally traveled," he recalls, "the same kind of campaign route the candidate himself traveled—all over the country." It was not a half-hearted commitment: He made over 200 speeches for Nixon.

In 1962 when Nixon ran for governor of California, Reagan again took to the hustings, but this time as a Republican. He says, "I didn't want to become a professional Democrat for Republican candidates and I registered as a Republican in 1962."

## His Famous Speech

In 1964 Ronald Reagan was co-chairman of California Citizens for Goldwater-Miller. He hit the "sawdust trail," made speeches, attended fund-raising events and made a strong impression on the voters of California.

**The late October telecast across the nation that year confirmed what a lot of Californians had already known: Ronald Reagan was a "natural" politician as well as actor.**

The broadcast came late in the campaign, on Tuesday evening, October 27, only one week before Election Day. The next morning, a flood of telegrams, letters and telephone calls hit the Republican National Committee, lauding the Reagan show and asking for more. The program was shown again nationally the following Saturday and was telecast hundreds of times by state, county and local Goldwater committees.

"A Time for Choosing" (reprinted in *Human Events,* Nov. 28, 1964) shifted tens of thousands of votes. It raised about $600,000. It was even called the "one bright spot in a dismal campaign" by *Time*. And it made Ronald Reagan a national political "star" overnight.

It also planted an idea in the minds of influential leaders in the California Republican party. They came to Reagan early in 1965 with a proposal: We think you are the only candidate around whom the party can rally in the 1966 gubernatorial race. We think you can win and we are willing to underwrite your "campaigning" for the rest of the year. Travel around the state, find out for yourself whether you are acceptable to the party and if you are, *run*.

The men put up a sizable war chest for the operation and hired the best political campaign firm in the state, Spencer-Roberts of Los Angeles, to help Reagan. The signing of this firm was most important—politically and psychologically.

Formed in 1960, Spencer-Roberts has compiled a most impressive record of 34 victories out of 40 major political races. Among its clients have been Rep. John Rousselot (1960), Sen. Thomas Kuchel (1962), Reps. Del Clawson and Don Clausen (1962), Nelson Rockefeller (the 1964 presidential primary) and several Los Angeles County Council candidates.

Spencer-Roberts does not handle any Democrats, but quite obviously does service a wide variety of Republicans. However, *all* Republicans are agreed that the firm is first in political management in California. (Sen. Barry Goldwater sought its services for the 1964 California primary but made a firm offer too late—a Rockefeller man got there first with a blank check.)

**With the skilled Spencer-Roberts team in his corner and solid financial backing, Ronald Reagan began hitting the hustings in the spring of 1965—but this time packed houses and set attendance records wherever he went; his charm, his articulateness, his candor—all captivated audiences from San Diego to Redding.**

In June 1965 a blue-chip citizens committee was formed, called "Friends of Ronald Reagan," to demonstrate widespread party support for his impending candidacy. Its leadership included many of the top Republicans, liberal and conservative, in the state. Among them were:

• A. C. (Cy) Rubel, a retired oil executive and delegate to the 1964 GOP National Convention, finance chairman for Joseph Shell in 1962 and a member of the Murphy for Senator Finance Committee in 1964.

• David Chow, an importer-exporter, who headed Chinese-American committees for Nixon in 1952, Goodwin Knight in 1954, and Kuchel in 1962.

> **"[Reagan] is an intelligent, quick-witted man, who loves a crusade. . . . And his political rivals would be mistaken if they underestimated his ability to fence with ideas or think on his feet."**
>
> **—Richard Oulahan and William Lambert in Life (Jan. 21, 1966)**

• Mrs. Thurmond Clarke, a civic and social leader in Los Angeles who was a Rockefeller delegate in the 1964 primary.

• M. Philip Davis, attorney, co-chairman in 1964 of California Citizens for Goldwater-Miller.

• Dr. Nolan Frizzelle, optometrist, 1964 president of the California Republican Assembly.

• Walter Knott, founder of Knott's Berry Farm, one of the top conservatives and fund-raisers in California.

• Bruce Reagan (no relation), business executive, a founder of the United Republicans of California.

• Henry Salvatori, oil executive, one of the GOP's chief financial supporters and a strong Nixon and Goldwater backer.

• Mrs. Norman Taurog, civic and social leader, a Rockefeller delegate in 1964.

• Jack L. Warner, film executive and a prominent Kuchel supporter.

However, despite the polls, his financial backing and sound organization, Reagan is not going unchallenged. George Christopher, former two-term mayor of San Francisco, is running against him in the primary and others may follow.

Christopher, a bluff, outspoken, energetic politician, has been eager to get back into the political wars ever since he was defeated for lieutenant governor in 1962. Although described as a "moderate" by the New York *Times*, Christopher is a bona fide liberal who was Northern California chairman of Rockefeller's unsuccessful primary drive in 1964.

The former San Francisco mayor trails Reagan by a wide margin in all the polls as the favorite of California Republicans.

Another possible GOP primary candidate is Joseph C. Shell, a one-time powerful conservative in California politics who was defeated by Nixon in the 1962 gubernatorial primary. Shell has said he is undecided about entering the race. He is the only Republican who could take votes from Reagan in the primary, but it is doubtful how many even he could wean away. Shell has not participated in party affairs since his 1962 primary defeat and almost all his former supporters are now in the Reagan camp.

**If Ronald Reagan wins the primary, as now seems likely, the Democrats will be waiting for him with barrels of tar and dozens of bristly brushes. They will try again the same smear technique that worked so effectively against Barry Goldwater in 1964.**

Pat Brown sounded the call to mudslinging late last year in several speeches.

"The right wing has captured the Republican party in California," he cried. "It intends to name the Republican candidates for office in 1966. And it intends on election day to capture control of the nation's leading state. . . .

"1966 is the year that they are going for broke. It is clear that we can expect in 1966 another all-out assault from these forces of extremism."

It is equally clear that Democratic speeches will be filled with much more of this muck between now and November.

At 54, Reagan is not running because he believes he is a political messiah or because he considers himself a great politician. He is running for the governorship of California because he was asked to by his Republican peers and because he was no longer satisfied merely to talk about his state of California. He discovered he had to try to improve its government, personally.

He sees this race as his duty, as his way of paying back this country, in some way, for the many honors and riches it has given him.

In his famous 1964 telecast, he told his nationwide audience, "You and I have a rendezvous with destiny." For Ronald Reagan the answer as to what kind of destiny will come on Election Day, 1966, when the voters of California elect their next governor, and also, perhaps, a future President of the United States.

# An Exclusive Interview with Ronald Reagan

**Q. Why are you running for the Republican nomination for governor of California?**

A. I never wanted to run for office. I never thought I would prior to the last election. Then, afterwards, a group of people in the party whose judgment I respect, who have long been workers and leaders, came to me about the necessity of a victory in California.

They argued that so many well-qualified candidates in our state have inherited ill feelings because of the feuds and factions we have had in the last seven years. They said that a candidate who will give us a chance for victory must be someone who has no inherited bloc of enemies and has a good chance of unifying the party. This is essential, of course. As a minority party, we must have all the Republicans and then go out and get a good number of Democrats.

I finally agreed that I would be a candidate once I had assured myself that I would be acceptable to a broad base of the party.

**Q. What do you think will be the important issues in the campaign?**

A. For one, the vast growth of our state government and its imposition on freedom. We have a great bureaucracy which has grown out of all proportion to the increase in population. And along with it has come a great increase in the cost of government that has literally reached the maximum point in almost every area of taxation.

Property taxes alone in California have become such a problem that people cannot live in their own homes once they reach the time of fixed income, their non-earning years.

Furthermore, the state government has tried to meet every financial crisis in the last few years not with any tax reform or reduction in state expenditures but by seeking a windfall. For example, stepping up the collection of income taxes.

Second, this same tendency to centralize power in the executive branch in Sacramento has resulted in great problems in our fine state college system. The answer lies basically in giving these college administrations more autonomy, more authority to run their own affairs. For example, doing away with an archaic system of line-item budgeting and instituting an overall budget in which the college has some discrimination in how it will spend its money.

**Third, our crime rate has skyrocketed. We are not only the most expensive state in the Union, we are also the most crime-ridden. We have more violent crime than New York, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts combined.**

You can trace the beginning of this rise to some judicial decisions with regard to the state's preemption of local law enforcement. In California, when the state legislates in a certain area it preempts the field and local communities can no longer pass ordinances in that field.

But I don't think it was ever intended under preemption, as some authorities have stated, that the police should be prohibited from arresting people.

Here's an example: A man goes through a stop light and when he is stopped there on the front seat of the car beside him is a load of heroin. The police can do nothing but give him a ticket for going through a stop light. To arrest him on a heroin charge with the heroin lying right in front of him would constitute illegal search and seizure.

What is clearly needed is legislation to reinterpret this issue of preemption, to explain that it is not intended to take away from local police officers their right to protect society from the lawbreaker.

Fourth, the same kind of overconcentration exists in the field of welfare.

Over and over again our county officials who are in charge of the welfare program see areas where they could improve efficiency and where they could reduce the costs of administration. But they are prohibited by red tape that is handed down by Washington and slapped on them by Sacramento. They can't use their own initiative and their own ability.

**Q. The Watts riots will undoubtedly be a major issue this year. Why do you think they happened?**

A. I think you have to preface anything you say about Watts with the recognition that 99 per cent of the people there are fine, responsible citizens and had no part in the trouble. We're talking about a 1 per cent minority.

A combination of things is involved. First, that 1 per cent of the population is largely a group of recent arrivals from the Deep South who have limited education. They came here believing that all their problems would be solved overnight—that the streets were paved with gold. When they found that California was like any other area of the country, with high unemployment, they became very frustrated.

When you couple this frustration with the advice of *their* leaders, and a lot of *our* own political leaders, that there are some laws that are all right to break, what else could you expect but what happened?

Continued on next page



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**Q. Did you make any statement at the time of the Watts riots?**

A. Yes, but it didn't get much play. I appealed to the heads of the Republican party and to private industry to move into this area *now* without waiting for federal poverty grants. I said it was our duty to prove to the Negro there, the 99 per cent who are responsible citizens, that private enterprise has more to offer than Big Brother government.

One of these days, the Negro will wake up and realize that his supposed friend in court, the Democratic administration, really isn't freeing him. It's simply trying to exchange one odious form of paternalism for another. The Negro is asked to take a handout in return for which he is not allowed to make decisions for himself.

**Q. Do you believe you have the necessary experience to be the governor of a large state like California?**

A. You look at a thing the size of a state and all the complexities of a state government and it's very easy to say well, who *is* qualified to run this?

I think you have to realize you're not conducting a Central American revolution —you're not going to start from the ground up with a whole new government.

There is a legislature. There are other constitutional officers with prescribed functions who will be elected. And the governor is head of an executive branch and administrative officer of a number of bureaus and agencies.

**I believe I have had a reasonable amount of experience in all of these fields. First of all, my education: My college degree was in economics and sociology. During the Second World War, I was adjutant of a military post with about 1,300 men and officers and several hundred civilians. As you know, the adjutant is the administrative officer.**

Following the war, I came back to the Screen Actors Guild. I have had 22 years on its board and six years as president. Some people dismiss the SAG as some kind of honorary organization in which they hand a gavel over every year to the new man. This isn't true.

The guild is a working union with 15,000 members with gross earnings of around $60 million a year. The budget for our Los Angeles office alone runs between $250,000 and $300,000 a year. We have a New York office, one in New Orleans, San Francisco, Chicago and a number of other cities because we are a national union.

Then there was the Motion Picture Industry Council with which I was associated. This is made up of representatives of 40-odd unions and all management and ownership groups. We met regularly to treat those problems which affected all of us, whether it was public relations or taxes or unfair legislation. I was on the board for 10 years and twice president.

Frequently we had to deal with the federal government and I have gone to Washington to represent our industry before congressional committees. Once I even had a meeting with the President.

**Q. What President was that?**

A. Truman. I represented the industry on tax legislation and I was the only one who went to Washington and no one gave me a script. In other words, I had to express what I thought was the proper tax formula not only for actors but for the whole film industry.

In addition to this, I am on the board of an insurance company. I was on the board of trustees of my college. I'm on the national board of the Committee for Fundamental Education.

**I think I've had a reasonable amount of experience, more than perhaps a great many businessmen, certainly more than the average lawyer who is considered the logical choice for a political job. After all, the theories and principles of administration are the same, regardless of what is to be administered.**

And then there is this: I look at this job and at the man who now has it and one of the big things that has been wrong is that one man has tried to run this state without utilizing all the legislative and administrative help available to him. He has by-passed them. He has tried to rule by administrative edict. It's my belief that what we need is to return to the principle of checks and balances and restore as far as possible our government to the closest level to the people.

**Q. You are frequently criticized as an "amateur" in politics. Just how much campaigning have you done?**

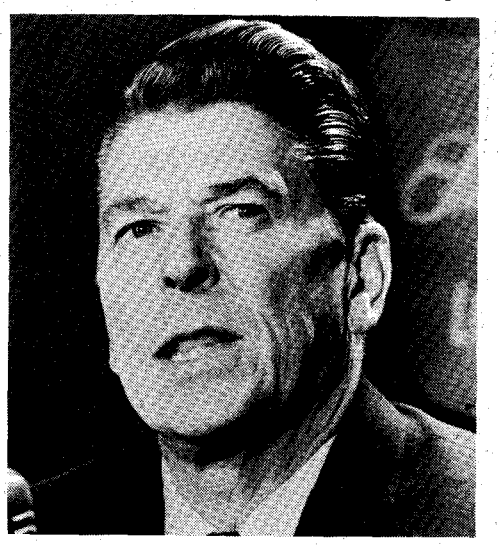
A. I did some campaigning back in my days as a Democrat, but it was more acting as M.C. and doing chores like that. I didn't actually speak on behalf of a viewpoint and a candidate until I had changed parties.

I wouldn't know how to estimate the number of my appearances in 1960. I literally traveled the same kind of campaign route Dick Nixon was traveling—all over the country.

In 1962 it was all within California because Nixon was running for governor. I hit the sawdust trail—five, six speeches a day in many instances. In 1964 I did the same thing.

**Q. When did you change parties?**

A. I was a Democrat in 1960 but then in 1962 I didn't want to become a pro-



fessional Democrat for Republican candidates and I registered as a Republican.

**Q. Did you ever belong to any Communist fronts?**

A. Yes. I went through a period when I was unknowing and naive about communism and didn't believe it constituted a threat. It was just impossible for me for a time to believe that some of the people I'd worked with who were so successful and with pretty good incomes could subscribe to such a ridiculous philosophy.

One outright Communist front I joined was the Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions. At the first board meeting I attended the issue of communism came up and I joined in on the need for adopting an anti-Communist statement of policy. In fact, I wrote it!

**We had figured that there were some Communists on the board and we planned to smoke them out in debate. As it turned out, the whole board was dominated by them. This was the only board meeting I ever attended. When the anti-Communist statement was rejected overwhelmingly I resigned by telegram from the organization.**

There is now an effort being made to take my Democratic activity and imply it was left-wing. Well, I've got on my desk an interview I gave in 1947. In that interview—remember I still considered myself a liberal Democrat—I expressed my philosophy. I said, whether it comes from management or labor or government or the right, the left or the center, whatever imposes on the freedom of the individual is tyranny and must be opposed.

I don't think I have changed very much from that viewpoint today.

**Q. You also did a lot of "campaigning" for General Electric while you were associated with that company. How many talks did you make for GE?**

A. For eight years, from 1954 until 1962, I was on the road an average of 12 weeks a year. My talks ranged from a major speech at a national convention to some days when I did as many as 14 brief talks a day. I visited 135 plants in 38 states and personally met 250,000 employes. They ranged from the Deep South to the Far West to the heavy industrial areas like Schenectady. You learned an awful lot about America and its people and what they were thinking.

**Q. Do you think this contributed to your conversion?**

A. No question about it. I came home one time and told Nancy: You know, I go out there and make these speeches and I'm coming to the realization that I turn right around and vote for the people who are responsible for the things I'm criticizing.

I also think that a large part of my conversion came through my own research for my speeches.

**Q. Did you write the famous speech which was telecast nationally in the 1964 campaign?**

A. Sure. And I must have written more than one because I have two Freedoms Foundations awards for speeches!

**Q. What happened to Sen. Goldwater in 1964?**

A. I think the great tragedy of the campaign was that for a number of reasons, none of which I am equipped to evaluate as to priority, the opposition was very successful in setting up a false image in people's minds that did not match the true image and the true man himself. They were successful in frightening people with this false image.

Where the fault lay, why we were unable to overcome this false image and to present the correct one, I suppose people will be talking about it for a lot of years to come.

I've known Barry personally for a number of years. I admire him very much as a man. I consider him a good friend. I think it was a tragedy we didn't have what the people were entitled to: a real confrontation between the two philosophies of government, the "Great Society" versus the Republican viewpoint.

As a matter of fact, the Johnson ticket did not present themselves on the basis of what they were going to do; they never mentioned this "Great Society" as to detail. They presented themselves as kind of "conservative." They represented "no change."

We, on the other hand, were given the image of being the party that would bring about some unheard-of change. This frightened the people away and to the other side.

**Q. Since the election, the "Great Society" has brought a great many changes, all of them calculated to increase the size and authority of government. What can the governor of a state do to counteract the growing dependency of people on the federal government?**

A. Here a governor or state administrator is in a difficult spot. In many instances, the federal government has so usurped the sources of revenue that it has practically impoverished the local and state governments. Then it turns around and says, well, the solution isn't restoring the tax power to local government. It is, instead, we'll give you back the money as a federal grant. And always they tie to it a lot of rules and restrictions.

In many cases, there is a necessity to accept the money. But at the same time there is an opportunity for a state or local community to explore those areas where it can do without the money instead of immediately setting up shop to see how much it can get.

**Local government should also use moral persuasion to resist this excess of regulation, to continue to fight for and demand more autonomy.**

This state administration has reflected a completely contrary view. At the last governors' conference, the governors passed a resolution demanding that they have the right to veto at the state level Sargent Shriver's rules and edicts regarding the anti-poverty program in their states. The only governor who voted *against* this was our governor, Pat Brown.

I think the governor can exercise a great deal of moral power in standing up and defending state sovereignty. I don't think a federal government can be completely oblivious to a governor who in this state will be representing 10 per cent of the population of the nation. I think Washington has to listen. And I think their deeds and acts can be tempered. But so far there has been very little opposition in Sacramento.

**Q. What is your opinion of Police Chief William Parker?**

A. I think he's one of the finest police administrators in the country today. You have to go by the record and in his case the Los Angeles police force is hailed by most professionals as one of the finest police forces in the whole United States.

**Q. What do you think of School Superintendent Max Rafferty?**

A. I think Max Rafferty was elected to office after probably going farther than any candidate I can recall in submitting himself to the public and explaining as fully as possible what his views were and what he believed should be done with regard to education.

The people heard him, they agreed with what he said and they elected him to office. And then the state administration in Sacramento did and has done everything it can to tie his hands and prevent him from making good on the things which the people had elected him to office for. I would think that a Republican governor would feel duty bound to untie his hands and help him do the things he promised the people he would do. This depends of course upon his being reelected.

I have no hesitation in stating my own belief in Max Rafferty as a man well qualified to do the job.

**Q. Have you said to yourself, "Yes, I can win the nomination and yes, I can win the election"?**

A. Yes, but I know it's not going to be easy. I have a lead for the nomination, but with this much time to go you never know when someone might come from under the grandstand.

The election, of course, will be much harder. I don't buy this line about how unpopular the incumbent is supposed to be. He bounces pretty well.

**Q. I'm sure you're aware that there is a lot of national interest in your campaign.**

A. I translate this as national interest in the *party* out here. I've spoken in a number of other states in the last several months, and I've discovered that Republicans have their eyes fixed on California. They have a feeling that we're the key. If we start the come-back here, that will make it easier and more possible for the rest of the party.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## Abstain in U.N. Voting

# U.S. Aid Recipients Display Their Ingratitude

By WALTER TROHAN

"If you haven't got the courage to face ingratitude, don't do any favors," Dante Alighieri sings in that section of his great poem, *La Commedia*, devoted to the descent into hell. The line suffers at the hands of translators, but it stands out in the original Italian of what we know as *The Divine Comedy*.

It also stands out, at the moment, in the action of France, Mali, Uganda and Nigeria in abstaining in the vote on the U.S. request that the U.N. Security Council take up the Viet Nam issue. The request squeaked through the council, but it is likely Russia will veto any action.

The United States saved France in two world wars. France fought bravely in World War I, but did little to oppose Nazi legions or to win her own freedom in World War II.

**Furthermore, France has received almost $10 billion of the $136 billion the United States has spent on foreign aid, including interest on money this country borrowed to give away to help others. The three African nations which failed to support the United States in the council—Mali, Nigeria and Uganda—have readily thrust out their hands for American millions.**

The abstentions in the United Nations came as President Johnson asked Congress for a five-year foreign aid authorization, calling for $3.4 billion for the fiscal year which begins next July 1. The President warned nations with itchy palms that the United States will help only those who help themselves, but no one took the remark seriously, especially those preparing to line up for handouts. The next day he asked an additional $524 million to fight hunger, ignorance and disease around the world, which is foreign aid also.

Almost everything about the foreign aid program contains as much baloney as it does billions. The program is represented as one of $3.4 billion. Actually, more than half of the vast dole is hidden in the jungle of federal finances so that the outlay, including various loans, grants, contributions to international organizations and assistance programs, swells the grand total of aid to $7.5 billion, and if one includes unliquidated funds available, there is a staggering total of more than $18 billion available for foreign spending.

Supporters of foreign aid contend that 80 per cent of the money we give and lend comes back to this country in the form of foreign purchases. This is largely hokum. If this rule were to apply to total foreign spending of $7.5 billion, we wouldn't be having a balance-of-payments problem.

**The Administration has been telling us that the corner had been turned on balance of payments and that we were reaching a favorable position. Then came the bad news that we had lost $1.6 billion in gold stocks during the year, almost the greatest loss in a single year since the drain began 15 years ago.**

The claimed 80 per cent really is 16 to 18 per cent. It is true that about 78 per cent of the aid which is spent for commodities is spent in the United States. However, only a small part of the spending is for commodities. The greater part is spent for foreign labor, for personnel to administer the program overseas and for foreign products.

It is no wonder then that our gold stores are being drained by the aid program. These stores are also being drained by the troops the United States maintains abroad in countries that show little or no disposition to defend themselves, including France.

As gold dwindles, look for the Johnson Administration to restrict foreign travel by taxing those who travel or by limiting the amount of money a traveler may take out of this country.

(Copyright 1966, Chicago *Tribune*)

# Can Poor Run Poverty War?

By PAUL HARVEY

If poor people run the poverty program, are they necessarily more knowledgeable or are the blind leading those who can see?

In our Missouri Ozarks, before the "all men equal" premise gained acceptance, there was a saying that "poor people have poor ways."

Because I was a poor boy, I did not appreciate that axiom—but I never denied it. And it was no easier then than now to rise above such an environment.

Indeed, today "government money" is being expended lavishly in an effort to improve slum areas and to inspire slum people to improve themselves. Presently the big rhubarb is over how such an anti-poverty program should be administered.

Walter Reuther is organizing a "poor people's lobby," so the spending will not be dominated by big city political interests.

**Republican Congressman Charles Goodell says anti-poverty money in Chicago is being used "to feed Mayor Daley's political machine." He protests that "the poor have no say-so in the administration of the program."**

Sargent Shriver's "Advisory Council" for the "War on Poverty" includes a Chicago mother of 11 children whose only income is her $280 monthly Aid to Dependent Children payments. Mrs. Gladys Kyles says, "I guess this makes me an expert on poverty." Does it?

The fact that you may have measles does not make you a doctor.

If, in the administration of these millions, we have to choose between professional politicians and persons who are totally inexperienced in money management, we are confronted with a Hobson's choice. Either is worse than the other.

Congressmen Goodell and Quie have asked for a shakeup in Shriver's anti-poverty agency. They call it "a churning Disneyland of administrative chaos." Their House Education and Labor Committee has found evidence of "waste, abuses and developing scandal."

But these congressmen, in their recommendations for improving the situation, are similarly enamored of the idea that the "poor people, chosen by the poor" should have at least a one-third representation on welfare administration in each community.

**If they think a program, managed by men of Shriver's caliber, is a "Disneyland" . . . what in the world do they expect it to be like when our least productive citizens are running it?**

Dr. Dan Dodson, director of NYU's Center For Human Relations, says, "The 'War on Poverty' is designed to tranquilize the poor, not to uplift them."

He says, "Such programs have been used throughout history to quiet internal tensions, but ultimately have exhausted resources and caused the downfall of civilizations."

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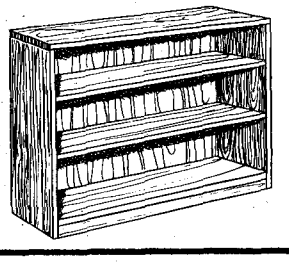

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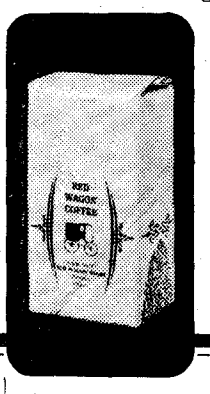

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*An On-the-Spot Report*

# How the Smith Government Is Faring in Rhodesia

By RALPH DE TOLEDANO

Salisbury, Rhodesia:—This is a beautiful and modern city, swept at morning by the bright and penetrating light that Americans know in the New Mexico and Arizona deserts. Its broad, clean streets are quieter now, since the gas rationing has cut down on driving. But there is enough pedestrian and vehicular bustle to muffle the soft African speech of flower vendors and the casual strollers.

Despite the boycott imposed by Britain's ideologically determined prime minister, Harold Wilson, shops are still well stocked with necessities and luxuries at prices which astonish Americans. At the best hotels a steak dinner for two costs less than two pounds, or roughly $5.00. Rhodesian cigarettes are cheap and of better quality than the major American brands. At night the streets are patrolled by African policemen, far

*Former RAF fighter pilot Ian Smith heads the new Rhodesian regime, which is optimistic about its future.*

less concerned about criminal outbreaks or street violence than their counterparts in New York or Washington.

**But behind the calm of Salisbury life, forces are at work that can destroy what may be Africa's last stable semi-democracy and the only country working steadily toward a parity of races. With Nigeria, the "showplace" of the new nations of Africa, slipping into the savagery and totalitarianism that has marked the "liberation" of the African continent, Rhodesia—for all the limitations inherent in its 1961 constitution—remains a bastion of orderly progress in human relations and of law and order.**

The forces seeking to crumble the Rhodesian achievement and to drive the country into economic collapse and political regression are, tragically, external. African "nationalism" —an artificial growth in a continent where tribalism is still basic—and the stubbornly personal vendetta of a British Labor prime minister, are more responsible for the current crisis in Rhodesia than are any internal pressures.

There is general agreement here among both government spokesmen and objective foreign observers that the demand for immediate equalization of the franchise is limited to a small and unrepresentative group of men who are directed by African extremists of bordering totalitarian states and financed indirectly by international Communist paymasters.

You will not read this in your newspapers, for as just a brief stay in London disclosed, the Labor government's ideological machinery has thoroughly poisoned the well of free and accurate communications. Yet all the organized propaganda of No. 10 Downing Street cannot change the facts of the current Rhodesian situation. Compare the situation in the Congo—or in any other of the new nations of Africa—with that of Rhodesia. The contrasts are startling.

White farmers will leave their wives and children unguarded in the outlying sections of the country without a worry. They know that whatever violence there has been in Rhodesia has been committed by the handful of nationalists against their fellow Africans. The "petrol bombs"—or Molotov cocktails—have been used to intimidate the vast majority of Africans who want to live in peace with the white population. In thatched huts fire can make a furnace of a home in seconds, incinerating the occupants.

With education such a vital factor in the development of Rhodesia, the nationalists have aimed much of their fire at schools and at children. African families, to escape these depredations, have taken to the veld at night. Even the opposition members of the Parliament decry the tactics of the nationalists and subscribe to law, order and due process.

What then is the shouting all about? In conversations with Minister of Law Desmond William Lardner-Burke, with Deputy Minister of Information P.K. Van der Byl, with Clifford Dupont, the officer administering government—a non-party kind of city-manager on a national basis, and the second in command of the government—and with other officials and private citizens, I have been able to find out exactly what the white community believes in and hopes to achieve.

**But in talks with African members of Parliament and with others in the opposition, I have yet to get a clear-cut statement of aims, aspirations or demands. There is much vague talk, but the resentments deal with British rule—which Prime Minister Wilson, from the remoteness of England, threatens to impose—or with cliches. Any attempt to pin this down to specifics is met with a tacit acknowledgement that neither the nationalists nor the "equality immediately" adherents care to or are able to spell it out.**

Meanwhile, there is general agreement that British force will not bring about capitulation or a rejection of the government of Prime Minister Ian Smith. The will to resist is indomitable among the white population. And as a former American official has noted here, "anything less than two British divisions would be wiped out by the Rhodesians"—with African help.

(Copyright 1966, King Features Synd.)

*Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith signs the proclamation of independence in Salisbury Nov. 11, 1965. Since then the country has been "a bastion of orderly progress in human relations" compared to other African countries.*

□ □ □

**RADIO MOSCOW** has given wide circulation to the latest fulminations of Sen. Wayne Morse (D.-Ore.). The Red radio quoted Morse in a frenzied attack on U.S. intervention in South Viet Nam. ("The most dangerous men in the world are the Pentagon," he cried.)

*Back to Huey Long*

# Poverty Schemes Come Full Circle

From the Chicago *Tribune*

Recently there have been some far-out proposals that the federal government close the "poverty gap" by paying everybody enough to remove him from the poverty level. Sargent Shriver's Office of Economic Opportunity has decreed that a city family of four with less than $3,150 a year is poverty-stricken.

**The study for Shriver, submitted by Robert J. Lampman, an economist**

*Huey Long, the "Kingfish" of Louisiana during the 1930s.*

**at the University of Wisconsin, estimates that it would cost $12 billion a year if the government gave handouts to all the poor. It is not explained how anyone would have any remaining incentive to work if he were underwritten by the government.**

Of course, there is nothing new under the sun, and this scheme is an old one, originally dismissed as plain silly, which has been dressed up in new clothes.

Huey Long, the "Kingfish" of Louisiana, had much the same idea back in the '30s, when he was preaching the doctrine of "every man a king." This conversion was to be accomplished by passing out $2,500 to every needy man. The money was to be raised by a capital levy on the well-to-do.

All surplus property would be requisitioned by the government and redistributed, so that the man without a bed would get one from the fellow who had more than one.

A variant on this scheme was advanced by Dr. Francis E. Townsend, an aged physician in Long Beach, Cal., whose gimmick was the "old-age revolving pension fund," commonly known as the Townsend Plan. Everybody reaching the age of 60 would get $200 a month if his income did not exceed $2,400 a year, and a couple past 60 would get $400. A 2 per cent tax on every transaction was to meet the cost estimated at $19 billion a year.

Upton Sinclair, an old Socialist, came up with a similar scheme and ran for governor on the slogan "End Poverty in California." Idle farms and factories would be peopled with unemployed after being purchased by floating state bond issues.

**All incomes of $5,000 or more would be taxed, but homes and farms valued at less than $3,500 would be exempted. At a blow, 10 to 15 per cent of California's population would be transferred to a Socialist economy.**

These hare-brained proposals offered President Franklin Roosevelt and his New Deal competition, for they were goofier than anything in his own arsenal. Even members of Roosevelt's party began to push him with such "share-the-wealth" programs as "Ham and Eggs"—a plan to provide everybody with $30 every Thursday. Incidentally, Sheridan Downey was elected senator from California through this proposed stunt. Roosevelt's response was to adopt Social Security from the European Socialists. (Nobody was going to outpromise him.)

In those bygone days the stimulus for public largess came from prophets who weren't in government. The difference today is that the "Great Society" itself originates this dream-book stuff which was once laughed out of court. That's progress for you.



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# Victory for HCUA

## *Only 24 House liberals oppose committee's '66 appropriations.*

From the Arizona *Republic*

The House Committee on Un-American Activities won overwhelming congressional endorsement recently when the House of Representatives voted to appropriate $425,000 for HCUA investigations and other expenses in 1966.

As usual a handful of big city Democrats argued that HCUA should be abolished, or that its function should be transferred to the Judiciary Committee. But the common sense of the representatives was very much in evidence when they buried this extremist proposal by 299-24, or by about the same percentage as last year.

**Ritualistic leftists are unlikely to agree on the value of HCUA, of course, for they contend that communism is a political belief which is not properly the concern of Congress. But this viewpoint represents naivete at its worst.**

In a brilliant recent book, *Democracy's Dilemma*, liberal Prof. Benjamin E. Lippincott—a former teacher of Hubert Humphrey, whom the vice president recently described as "one of my oldest friends"—moves to set the record straight.

To be sure, says this professor of political science at the University of Minnesota, the work of HCUA was not without a bearing on political campaigns and lapses in fair play. Nor was its work without its superficial aspects. But, he adds, its reports nevertheless contained valuable data for anyone who would understand the totalitarian party, above all, of the Communist type.

"It is the author's experience," writes Lippincott, "that until late years liberals have made little use of the hearings and reports of HCUA and the subcommittee on Internal Security of the Senate. The author found, for example, that hearing after hearing and report after report in the libraries of two great universities, Harvard and Minnesota, had never been opened."

These materials were avoided, he believes, because of the excesses of early chairmen of HCUA. "Part of this reputation springs from the fact that on occasion witnesses were abused, but as a rule this did not happen unless the witness was arrogant and insulting to the committee.

**The following 24 Northern Democrats were the only House members to vote January 27 against granting $425,000 to the House Committee on Un-American Activities for its 1966 expenses: Burton, Leggett, Brown, Rees and Roybal (all Calif.); Annunzio, O'Hara and Yates (Ill.); Diggs, Dingell, Mackie, Nedzi and Vivian (Mich.); Fraser (Minn.); Dow, Farbstein, Gilbert, Ottinger, Rosenthal, Ryan and Scheuer (N. Y.); Duncan and Green (Ore.), and Kastenmeier (Wis.).**

**"Part of this reputation also springs from the liberal press, emphasizing the violations of fair play by the committee, minimizing the provocative behavior of witnesses, and giving little attention to the data that were developed. The committee's reputation doubtless suffered, too, from the concerted attacks made upon it by Communists and fellow travelers.**

"It may be remarked, in passing," he concludes, "that liberals who were quick to raise their voices in protest against the excesses of investigating committees dealing with Communists were on the whole notably silent with respect to the excesses of such committees dealing with the misdoings of bankers and capitalists in the '20s and early '30s."

Despite the carping criticism of the far left, the overwhelming majority of Americans believe that HCUA has performed admirably to awaken the American public. This recent House vote merely reaffirms that public confidence.

# Mr. Spensley vs. the IRS

From the Richmond *News Leader*

It would be almost impossible to feel sorry for the Internal Revenue Service for the amount of trouble that taxpayers cause the agency if it weren't that the IRS presents a perfect target for trouble. The latest campaign to be waged against the IRS was begun by an Iowa businessman, D.J. Spensley, who operates a dry cleaning establishment.

Not long ago, when Mr. Spensley was looking over his books, he noticed that a disproportionate number of entries resulted from the necessity of keeping track of income tax and Social Security deductions for his 21 employes.

**As a businessman, Mr. Spensley realized that these bookkeeping entries cost him money in terms of the time they required of him. Yet he was reimbursed neither for his time nor his trouble. On the other hand, if he refused to perform his withholding duties, the IRS could fine him and even attach his bank account.**

To Mr. Spensley, this amounted to enforced servitude, clearly a violation of the 13th Amendment. He visited his local IRS office and discussed tax collectors' salaries with an agent there; he determined that the average tax collector draws $3.75 an hour. He then figured that he had spent 838 hours during the past five years acting as an unpaid tax collector for Uncle Sam. Whereupon, Mr. Spensley went to the office of the district director for the IRS in Des Moines and presented him with a bill for $3,142.50.

So far, the IRS has had no comment on Mr. Spensley's bill, justified as it may be. The federal government spends only 44 cents per $100 in taxes collected, because businessmen bear the brunt of collection. State tax collection costs average $1 per $100; local costs range from $5 to $10 per $100. Obviously, Mr. Spensley has justice on his side, but he probably will get nowhere with his campaign. As far as the IRS is concerned, Uncle Sam volunteered Mr. Spensley, along with thousands of other businessmen, for service, whether he likes it or not. Taxing business, isn't it?


# AN OPEN LETTER

## Announcing Conservative Classified Corner

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*The rate is 40¢ per word per insertion, plus $1 for Box Number if desired. Minimum $10 per insertion (25 words).*

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| ANTIQUES FOR SALE | MISCELLANEOUS (*items of a similar nature*) |
| SOUVENIRS | SERVICES |
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**ANNOUNCEMENT**

The first Conservative Classified Corner is scheduled for the issue of March 12, 1966. The ads will be in this format and in this type face and size. So if you have any wants or wishes why not fill out and **SEND THE COUPON BELOW** and start trading with conservatives?

*Sincerely,*

*Vivian Hunt*, Assistant Advertising Manager

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# SPOTLIGHT on CONGRESS

## Allies' Double Standard

By REP. WILLIAM HARSHA (R.-Ohio)

This Administration has been giving a lot of lip service to the proposition that it will provide whatever is necessary for American boys who are serving in Viet Nam. Yet it persists in doing nothing to halt the flow of supplies and munitions to our enemy in North Viet Nam by our so-called friends and allies. This Administration has available to it sufficient economic weapons to halt the flow of these supplies and munitions from the so-called free world if it only had the courage to employ them.

Furthermore, this Administration should make the State Department stop issuing foreign aid to any nation that continues to ship supplies to North Viet Nam to be used against us. How this nation can continue to aid, support and enhance the economies of those nations who are providing our enemy with the means to maim, cripple and kill American boys is beyond my comprehension.

## Leniency for GIs

By SEN. MILWARD SIMPSON (R.-Wyo.)

*Late last year, two American enlisted men stationed in Berlin gave their uniforms to an East German couple so they could get through the Berlin Wall to safety in the western sector. A preliminary investigation led to court-martial charges against these soldiers. They are at this moment in the Berlin stockade. These two soldiers are certainly in technical violation of regulations, and I realize that their action is counter to military discipline. I have asked the Pentagon to release them pending their court-martial. I have also urged that every measure of leniency possible under military law be given to these Americans who helped two captives of communism reach freedom through the Berlin Wall.*

## The Mott Tragedy

By SEN. PETER DOMINICK (R.-Colo.)

The untimely death of an American citizen who was being shipped to a Soviet prison camp for the crime of accidentally crossing the Norwegian-Soviet border should shock the world into realizing we are a long way from achieving peaceful coexistence with the Communists. Newcomb Mott, a twenty-seven year-old native born American from Sheffield, Mass., is alleged to have committed suicide because of his fears of what awaited him in a Soviet prison labor camp. While our government has not yet accepted the Soviet claim that Mott's death was a suicide, the fact of the matter is that this young man's death was the result of an unduly harsh prison sentence which should not have been allowed to stand without major protest from this government.

There was a time when it was said that wherever the American citizen went, he carried the flag with him. This meant that the full power and prestige of the United States government would be brought into play to protect the lives and property of Americans everywhere. While it is too late to save Newcomb Mott, it is not too late to prevent similar incidents in the future and I join with those who insist that our government reestablish a policy of protection of all American citizens throughout the world.

## LBJ's Silence

By REP. DONALD RUMSFELD (R.-Ill.)

*When the steel companies announced intentions to raise prices, the President felt a compulsion to become involved. Yet, when a strike tied up the largest city in the nation and caused the loss of many millions of dollars in wages and salaries and business, the involvement compulsion was absent. It is certainly difficult to understand this behavior.*

## Thanks, Nigeria-Style

By SEN. HUGH SCOTT (R.-Pa.)

A lot of left-wing columnists and left-wing senators have been yelling to get us into the United Nations. So what happens? Hanoi announces that if we do pass any resolution it will have no effect whatever. This ought to be an answer to all those people who have been saying, "Why don't we try the United Nations?" Well, we tried and we found our experience very trying, indeed.

For example, on the first of February President Johnson sent up a foreign aid program. In that program he asks for development loans and says that nine-tenths of that $665 million he asks for will go to five countries alone. One of those countries specifically named is Nigeria. On the very day, and virtually the very hour that the message was being read to the Congress by the clerks, Nigeria was refusing even to give the United States a vote on the Security Council to take up the question of Viet Nam at all. Now, when are we going to get smart?

## More Courage Needed

By REP. JOHN ANDERSON (R.-Ill.)

*I am reminded that in 1961 the editors of* Life *in an editorial said: "The climax of the struggle with communism will come—soon. It has begun, and it is probable that in the present decade we shall either have negotiated our own surrender or communism will have become a disrupted, discredited and disintegrated force." I can only express the hope that in the months ahead that rather than immobilizing ourselves with self-doubts as to our destiny and purpose, we will have the courage to view the world conflict in its proper perspective. God grant us the will to peace and grant us also the courage and the determination to believe that freedom and the American dream are worth fighting for.*

## Big-Pay Poverty

By REP. BOB DOLE (R.-Kan.)

Many politicians were pleased to learn President Johnson will ask for even more money this year for his so-called "War on Poverty." Without question, this is one war politicians are in no rush to win because, thus far, the program has benefited them—but scarcely the poor. The Office of Economic Opportunity has spent countless tax dollars to publicize and sell the various and sundry poverty programs to the American taxpayer. One example, recently disclosed, and which is unfortunately typical, has been reported in Chicago. The aims of the program are good. It would set up a preschool center for 100 underprivileged children. Federal anti-poverty funds would pay for it. The question has been asked: How much does it take?

Here's the staff as set up by the Woodlawn organization, a group that frequently complains about how poverty funds in Chicago are managed. Monthly salaries announced were: Project Director, $900; Assistant Director, $750; Research Director, $900; Assistant testers, $400 each; Director of Training, $500; six part-time teacher assistants, $300 each; six part-time teachers, $400 each; three teachers, $400 each; three assistant teachers, $400 each.

The payroll adds up to $12,750 per month. It would require 28 persons to handle 100 kindergarten youngsters. A little arithmetic reveals that it costs $126 per month per pupil, or $1,512 per year per pupil—more than the amount required for a year in some colleges. It is certainly an outrageous figure when the program would be largely devoted to fingerpainting, sandpiles and other kindergarten diversions.

## Johnson Nepotism

By REP. CATHERINE MAY (R.-Wash.)

*In his State of the Union address the President implored us to work together to wipe out the balance-of-payments deficit, but only a week later his brother-in-law is spending three wintry weeks in sunny Jordan finding ways in which the native products can be sold in the United States.*

# U.S. Taxes Pay for Panama Flags

By REP. DANIEL FLOOD (D.-Pa.)

Two years ago, Jan. 9-12, 1964, the Canal Zone was the target of a bloody assault by Red-led Panamanian mobs. On the second anniversary of that sanguinary event, Panamanians commemorated the incident with marches passing through the Canal Zone and ending in Panama City where the U.S. flag was grossly insulted. I have reported the facts about this indignity to the secretary of state with request to be advised as to what protest, if any, was made by our government.

Meanwhile, it is advisable for members of Congress to recall that on Feb. 2, 1960, after considerable debate, the House of Representatives, by a vote of 381 to 12 on House concurrent resolution 459, 86th Congress, opposed the formal display of the Panama flag in the Canal Zone.

Later, the Congress, when passing the 1961 appropriations bill for the Department of Commerce and related agencies, unanimously adopted an amendment offered by the distinguished gentleman from Iowa (Rep. Gross) prohibiting the use of any part of that appropriation for the construction of "a flagpole, platform, or any other device for the purpose of displaying the flag of Panama in the Canal Zone, the sovereign control of which is vested in the U.S. government by virtue of long-standing treaty."

**Despite this clear intent of the people of the United States and the Congress, the executive branch of our government on Sept. 17, 1960, after adjournment of the Congress, authorized the formal display of the Panama flag in the Canal Zone. This action has opened a Pandora's Box of difficulty that has not yet ended.**

After Panamanian flags were displayed in the Canal Zone territory, many wondered who paid for the alien flags displayed on U.S. Canal Zone territory. I determined to find out and requested full information.

The first Panamanian flag flown in Shaler Triangle in the Canal Zone on Sept. 21, 1960, was purchased from a flagmaker in Panama and charged to Department of State appropriations. Flags later displayed were manufactured by flagmakers in the United States with funds provided by our agencies of government.

It is amazing but true that this purchase by our government, at its own expense, of Panamanian flags to be flown in the U.S. Canal Zone territory as evidence of Panamanian sovereignty has been done. Thus, our government has bought, at the cost of the U.S. taxpayers, and displayed emblems and insignia of our own weakness and depravity—a situation quite unprecedented in all our country's history.

If the Panamanian government wished to have such display of its own flags, why did it not itself purchase them?


## A Plea for Tolerance

The season now approaches when **Human Events** resumes mailing promotional material to lists of prospective subscribers. Many of you who already subscribe will no doubt find your mailboxes stuffed with these subscription offers because your name appears on several of the mailing lists we rent.

Since the owners of these many lists do not permit us to check them against our own subscriber files for duplications (and since we could not do so economically even if it were permitted), we make this plea for tolerance. Rest assured that these mail campaigns—duplications and all—are still the most economical and productive means of gaining new subscribers.

So, rather than taking the time and trouble to write a note to our business manager (who **does** understand and appreciate your concern), telling him how much money he's wasting, why not use your stamp to **remail** our promotional material to some friend of yours who might be persuaded to subscribe for himself? You'll be doing us, the conservative cause and, we hope, your friend a real favor. Thank you.




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***Threatens Withdrawal from Program***

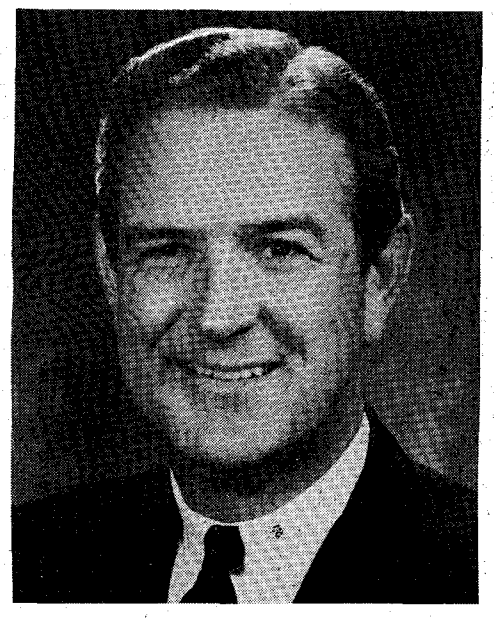
# Texas Gov. Connally Battles LBJ in Poverty War

By KEN THOMPSON

Texas Gov. John Connally and President Lyndon Johnson for many years have been close personal friends and political associates. But in recent months their relationship has become rather chilly. This is due in part to the fact that Connally is far less liberal than the President, and has publicly opposed several of Mr. Johnson's major "Great Society" programs.

But their friendship has become especially strained by the way Washington has handled its "War on Poverty" in Mr. Connally's state. The governor has been leery of the whole anti-poverty program from the start. He vetoed a Neighborhood Youth Corps project in Texas last April because he feared its local sponsor, a branch of the left-wing National Farmers Union, intended to exploit it for "quasi-political" purposes. Connally is one of only three U.S. governors to exercise the veto power provided in the 1964 Economic Opportunity Act.

Now the Texas governor is rankled by another anti-poverty project—a Job Corps center in San Marcos. The center, called Camp Gary, is one of the largest Job Corps training posts in the country. It is located just 40 miles from the LBJ



**John Connally of Texas is one of only three governors who have exercised their veto power over poverty projects.**

Ranch, was personally dedicated by the President last year and is considered by Mr. Johnson to be a "showpiece" in his "War on Poverty."

**Several months ago, this "showpiece" began to look more like a shambles. The trouble started when several of its trainees were arrested and one was killed during a robbery and shooting incident. There was strong criticism when tax funds were used to hire lawyers and post bonds for the accused.**

The drop-out rate became severe—more than 30 per cent. And public attention began to focus on the high cost of operating Camp Gary and the large number of employes on the staff. Two months ago, the Dallas *Morning News* reported that there were 1,100 paid employes at Camp Gary to take care of 2,457 trainees—a ratio of 1 to 2.2. Texas public schools average one employe per 20 students.

Camp Gary is operating on a budget of more than $8 million for 18 months, which comes to an annual cost of about $2,150 per trainee. Texas schools, the Dallas paper noted, spend an average of $390 a year per student—less than one-fifth as much.

On February 2 Connally flew to Washington to pay an unannounced call on poverty czar Sargent Shriver. According to the Washington *Star*, he threatened to close down Camp Gary and withdraw Texas support from the Job Corps and other federal anti-poverty projects.

Connally charged that Shriver's underlings have been giving orders to his aides and foisting a lot of unnecessary paperwork on state officials, but otherwise they have bypassed his office in making decisions regarding the "War on Poverty" in Texas. He has been particularly annoyed by Shriver's practice of sending news releases to local papers purporting to show that Texas and other states haven't taken full advantage of their "quota" of federal anti-poverty dollars.

**All of this is not particularly unusual in the scandal-ridden Job Corps and other anti-poverty programs. But it is especially significant that such difficulties have been encountered in the President's home state, on a project that was supposed to be a model for conducting the "War on Poverty" nationally.**

And the feud between Mr. Johnson and Mr. Connally—escalated by their differences over the conduct of the poverty war in Texas—is already producing a shower of political fall-out. Democrats in the Lone Star State, notorious for their bitter factionalism, were able to patch up their differences and paste together a facade of unity in 1964. But the Johnson-Connally feud is rapidly causing this temporary facade to come unstuck—a development which can only boost the chances of Sen. John Tower in his tough bid for reelection this year.

For more on how Sen. Tower's chances are looking up see page 3.

□ □ □

**JOHNSON'S LAW**—Former Vice President Richard Nixon has warned that the nation's economy is on a "collision course with inflation." The Administration, Nixon said, has replaced the market's law of supply and demand with "Johnson's law of comply and expand—business complies and government expands."

*Until recently Mr. Thompson was an editorial writer and columnist for the Dallas* Morning News, *in which position he learned much about Texas politics. He is now Associate Editor of the Richmond (Va.)* Times-Dispatch.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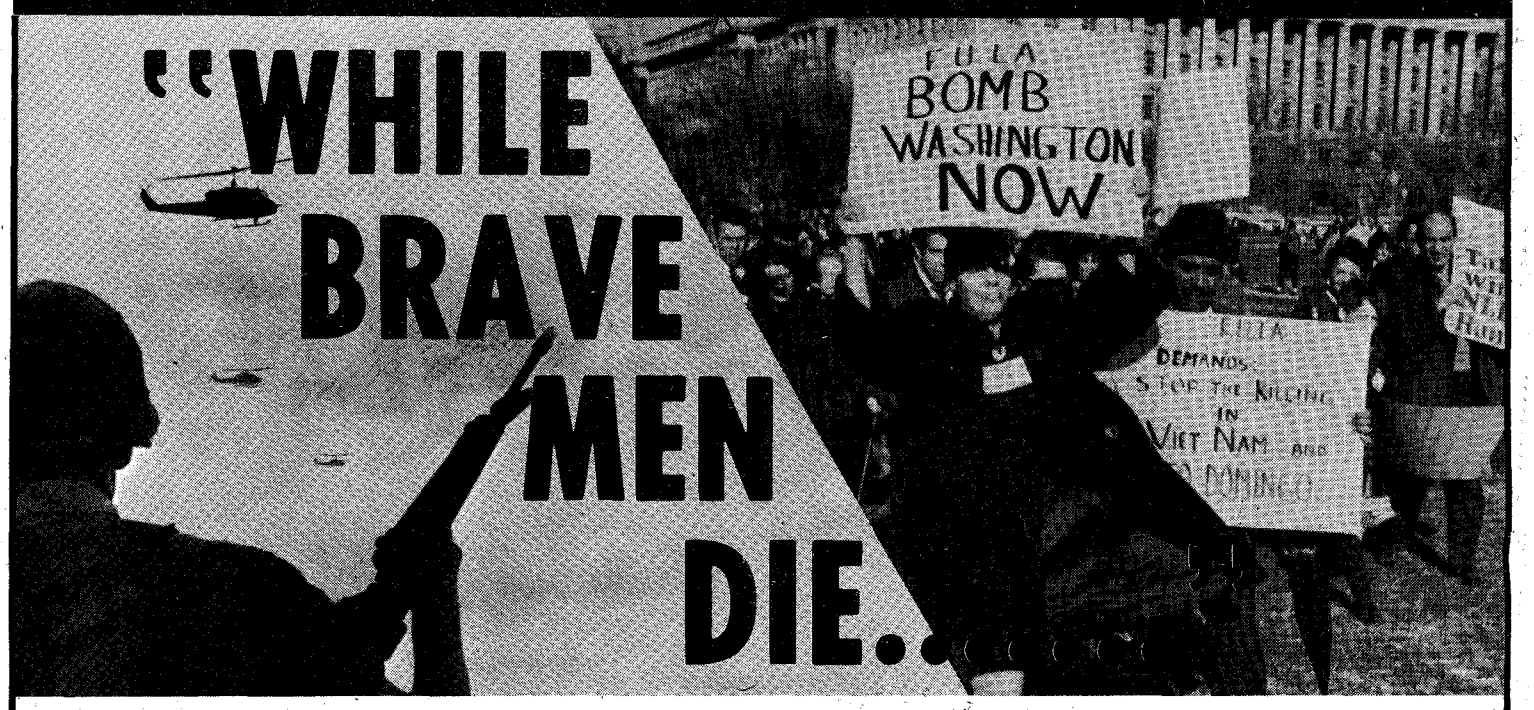


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